Periodical
F77

DRURY COLLEGE LIBRARY
Springfield, Missouri

The
FORUM

For January, 1919

# CAN GERMANY BE RE-GENERATED?

## The Coming Struggle Between the Thinking Majority and the Organized Minority

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL.D.
[PROFESSOR OF GOVERNMENT IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY]

*A clear historical analysis of German psychology, bearing upon the war, the present, and the future. Dr. Hart holds that all the German people were in the war and they as a nation must attain a new horizon.*

THE present social, military and political condition of Germany is little short of incredible. Four years and five months ago there was upon the face of the earth no structure made with hands which seemed so solid, so impregnable, so eternal as the German Empire. It had been two hundred and fifty years in the making, from the Peace of Westphalia, which loosely grouped the shattered fragments of the ancient Holy Roman Empire, through Prussia's great Elector, and King Frederick the Great, and the smash by Napoleon, and the painful half century of readjustment for Prussia. Then came the triumph of Bismarck in a united Empire, and the change of that Empire from an association of weak and poor states into a well-knit, commercial and industrial nation, with ships on every sea and warehouses and investments in every country. The foundations were as the great Chancellor roughly put it, laid in "blood and iron."

DRURY COLLEGE
LIBRARY

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To the eye of outsiders who, like the writer, visited portions of the country a few months before the European War, it seemed as stable as any aggregation of human beings in the world. The governments of the Empire and of the various states were carried on in a prudent and economical fashion by a trained bureaucracy. The army was drilled and exercised to the utmost and was directed by the most highly trained general staff in Europe. The country enjoyed a magnificent railway system and despatched splendid ocean liners to all parts of the globe, which aided and fostered a highly profitable foreign commerce. Its schools and universities were always notched up to the highest speed. The cities were clean, well built and well administered. A titled aristocracy, rising from the commonplace "vons" to the princes of the blood, was admired by most of the population and patiently endured by the rest.

### HER SUPREME EGOTISM.

AT the summit was the Emperor William, whose claim to be the viceregent of God Almighty was hardly criticized by his very faithful subjects. The Empire was infused with wealth, power and absolute belief in its superiority to the rest of the world. No enemy could enter Germany, the German armies and navies could go anywhere that they were ordered. Not the Tower of Babel, not the Pyramids of Egypt, not the mountains of the Hartz or of Thuringia seemed more absolutely beyond the possibility of overthrow. —Today that proud structure is a mournful wreck. The land itself has been exhausted by four years of desperate war. Cities, farmsteads, railroads, factories, ports and wharves have run down. Between two million and three millions of the strongest manhood of Germany lies beneath the sod; and we know not what other losses of population have been brought about by disease and famine.

The great Empire, the citadel of Teutonism, the heaven-defying fortress, has been taken. Notwithstanding the recent jaunty assurance of the temporary socialistic head of the government to the returning troops that they were not de-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

feated, they actually gave ground on the hotly contested western front every day for four months, and saved themselves from the wholesale surrender of an enormous army only by actual surrender of territory, of military stores and of the power to make military movements, without which an army is nothing but a mob. The Germans were taught that whatever happened Germany could never be invaded; but it is at this moment invaded. On the east the province of Posen is in the hands of the Poles; on the west English, French, Belgian and American troops have invaded and are in possession of German cities and the key fortifications of the Rhine defense. If they find it necessary to penetrate still farther, there is no force or organization left in Germany which would prevent them from occupying Frankfort or Munich or Berlin.

IF THE GERMANS SHOULD GO TO WAR WITH THEMSELVES.

THE internal organization of the nation is in the same state of collapse. Nearly every sovereign at the head of the twenty-two monarchical states has abdicated or been catapulted out of his throne. The great cities are in the hands of what appears to be a small lot of irresponsible people —here committees of soldiers and workmen, there the remnants of the old government, elsewhere confusion. The Germans have lost much more than the war—they have lost their Emperor, who was the king-pin connecting the states of the federation. They have lost more than the Empire, for they no longer show the political cohesion which is the mark of a real nation. They have lost their foreign trade, and more than that have apparently lost control of their manufactures and transportation. In comparison with Germany, Serbia is a centralized nation, and shattered Belgium is a world power.

It is a great thing for the world that the German army should be defeated and that the navy which had not the pluck to risk defeat should be meekly surrendered. It is also for the advantage of mankind that the German nation should face the bitterness of failure, should learn that above the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

super-Teutons are super-Britons and super-Gauls and super-Yankees; should realize that no nation is big enough and strong enough to impose its will upon the rest of the world. Nevertheless it is not to the advantage of the world that Germany should remain in this disintegrated and helpless state. For hundreds of years that part of Europe was subdivided into weak and warring states who drew their neighbors into causeless wars. No union, no responsibility, no progress. Down to the founding of the German Empire in 1871, Germany was in a condition something like that of the Balkans at present, in the midst of a struggle to find out what state was to be the leader. There can be no permanent peace if the Germans go to war with themselves.

### WILL THEY TAKE THEIR PLACE IN AN ORDERLY WORLD?

HERE on that segment of the earth's surface which reaches from the Baltic to the Alps, lives a body of about seventy million to seventy-five million people (if the Germans of Austria and the Tyrolese be included), who speak German, eat and drink German and think German. They are industrious, capable, educated people, as productive in proportion to their numbers as any nation in the world —always excepting the United States. They and their descendants will live upon this area indefinitely. The only way to get rid of the Germans would be to make use of the German-Turkish method applied to the Armenians and Greeks of Asia Minor—the method of wholesale massacre. The rest of the countries of the world do not wish to see a starving or an anarchized Germany. Nothing would please the world better than to have the Germans take their place in an orderly world, exchanging with the rest of mankind the products of their hands and the discoveries of their brains.

### HOW THE INTELLECTUALS PLOTTED

ONLY, that means the regeneration of Germany, which demands, first of all, a new type of political organization, and after that a fresh variety of German people. Here at the outset we strike the greatest difficulty in the reconstitu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion of Europe. At the beginning many of us believed that the autocracy of Germany made the war, and the people were swept into it, ignorant, deluded and helpless. President Wilson clung to that impression down to our own entrance into the war. We now know that it was a people's war. The evidence accumulates from day to day that the intellectuals of Germany were delighted to be organized into a non-military army which devoted itself to the secret and dirty part of the campaigning.

We have learned from our own Secret Service within a few days that high-bred and highly educated gentlemen—professors, jurists and publicists—were assembled, schooled and dispatched to foreign countries to engage in a propaganda which was not illegal if it had been done above board, but was tangled up with a machinery of false names, secret intelligence, bribes and chicanery. We now know that the polished gentlemen who publicly presented the case of Germany in the United States, the Dernbergs and Alberts, were at the head of a gang of tricksters and spies who were directed to make every effort to buy up Americans whom they thought they might make useful in their business. Some accepted the bait, others at this moment take great satisfaction in having refused to sell their pens, their influence and their good name to German agents.

### WERE UNITED IN A CAMPAIGN OF BOMBS AND MURDER

THE revelations of this propaganda in the United States, which was closely allied with a campaign of bombs and murder, go on all-fours with the behavior of the intellectuals in Germany at the beginning of the war. Together they bring about the conviction that the first thing Germany needs is to clean house by emancipating itself from its leaders of thought. Who can forget the seventy-six German professors, clergymen and scientific men who united in a memorial justifying the German war? Probably they were self-convinced on that point; later events proved that they not only favored war, but the peculiar type of German war which has

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

outraged humanity. Not only did the nobles, the junkers and the wealthy commercial men back up the army in its worst excesses, there is no evidence that any conspicuous men or women or associations of men or women ever recorded a protest against the murder of Edith Cavell or the slavery of the Belgians or the bombardment of the cathedral of Rheims, or the daily, habitual pollution of helpless women.

The Germans thought lust a necessary part of war. When in the Philippine war "Hell-roaring Jake," an American general in command, allowed his soldiers to administer the water cure to Filipinos, popular objection made itself felt instantly in the United States, and the hell-roarer was punished. That is what we expect of decent people anywhere. So ingrained seems to be the German doctrine of frightfulness that the returning German troops were officially informed a few days ago that they had protected their country from "flames and the destruction of the population." They seem to think that there is no other way of carrying on war. Ask any veteran of the Civil War, who had months of campaigning in hostile country—they will all bear the same testimony, that from 1861 to 1865 they never heard of a case of violence to women by soldiers of either army.

### THE GERMAN IDEA OF THE "STATE" AS A LIVING ORGANISM

HOW can we expect a safe government in Germany so long as no large element in the population so much as tries to separate itself from responsibility for these horrors? Liebknecht did protest at one time during the war like a man, and was duly punished.

In like manner there is as yet no evidence that the Germans have abandoned that theory of the State as a living organism, made up to be sure of a mass of human beings, but without mercy, or humanity, or regard for the weak. The interests of the State were supposed to require the looting of Belgian factories and the wiping out of part of the Serbian civilian population. Therefore it was done! Naturally the "State" seemed to the Germans a good thing when it con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quered the Danes and the Austrians and the French in swift wars; but why adhere to a "State" which is completely defeated by sea and land? which not only has failed to extend the German power over other parts of the world, but has been unable to protect the land of which it has proved the Frankenstein? Nobody cares to split logic over political terms, nobody minds the philosophizing of Nietzsche or Treitschke, until they are transformed into a vital principle which justifies Germans in enslaving and murdering other people or taking away their countries. The mere yielding to the Allies of Alsace-Lorraine and Posen and perhaps of Schleswig, under superior force, is no proof that Germany has abandoned the will to conquer.

Democracy, the rule of the people! Is Germany regenerated, or regeneratable in that direction? It is a country which has been built up on distinctions of social prestige and rank, where a small elevation by the particle "von" is coveted, where poor boys cannot expect to get the gymnasium education which is the gateway to the professions and to desirable public service, where Grand Dukes and Kings and an Emperor were ornaments much valued and beloved by the common people. The failure of the German colonies is due in considerable part to the arrogance of the official class out there toward the commercial and farming classes. How far is that distinction between the ordinary man and the "Herrschaft" weakened? Would the Germans today, if they were free to do what they liked, restore the privileges of the junkers and the supreme overlordship of All Highest?

## THE POSITION OF THE SOCIALISTS

WHETHER the majority so desires or not, the thing cannot be done, because the Socialists will not permit it. Who are the Socialists? Originally followers of Karl Marx and other apostles of a system of government which, if carried into operation, would be hardly less autocratic than imperialism. Then they became the only effective party in opposition to the autocratic idea. Bismarck recognized

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the danger and in 1878 pushed through the Reichstag an act for breaking up their organization and driving their leaders into prison or out of the country. When William came in as Emperor, he caused the anti-Socialist laws to be dropped, but nothing could stop their movement, and in the last open election—that of 1912—the Socialists elected 110 of the 400 members and cast over one-third of the total vote. That meant that a large number of persons who were discontented with the government by Emperor and Reichstag joined with the professional Socialists in the only protest that was possible.

When the war came on, they did try for a short time to prevent the war by public meetings and demonstrations; but most of the Socialist members of the Reichstag supported war because they supposed it would succeed, and they were not willing to be put in the position of the only party that was unwilling to fight for its country. All those Socialists of military age were swept into the army. When Liebknecht from his seat in the Reichstag declared that the military methods of the Germans in Russia were "barbarism" his party repudiated him. Subsequently he was arrested and punished by sending him into the trenches. As a party and as a group the Social Democrats of Germany did not during the war enroll themselves as opposed to its worst excesses.

### "GLOOMY" BECAUSE LONDON WASN'T DESTROYED

THEY, like other Germans, seem to have been overwhelmed by the characteristic German idea that whatever Germany wants must be done. An excellent example is a remark of the once well-known German agent and propagandist, Von Mach. One day, in the spring of 1915, he met the writer, who had previously in public forums disputed Von Mach's defense of Germany. "I feel very gloomy today," said the pro-German. "Why?" asked the writer. "Oh, the destruction of London." "London isn't destroyed yet; cheer up!" "Oh, but it's going to be." "Is that so, when?" "About the fifteenth of May." "How?" "Zep-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pelins—a fleet of twelve. They are going to attack on a foggy night when it blows hard." "Hold on, there are fogs in London sometimes, and there are winds, but they never come together." "Oh yes they do, they must have such a night." "Why" "So that the firemen can't put out the fires." That was the way a German mind worked. If the Germans needed a fog and a high wind at the same time, they expected God Almighty to furnish them with the desired combination.

This is the foundation of the "law of necessity," which the Germans made the basis of their destruction of non-combatants, including women and children, by submarines. Otherwise how were they going to cut off supplies to Great Britain? International law, neutral rights, the hostility of the United States, the horror of mankind—those must all give way to the victory of the Germans! They declared it was a matter of life and death for them to make Belgium a highway into France—as though it were not a matter of death and life to France that the pledged neutrality of Belgium should be observed. The same characteristics came out in the German propaganda in America. If Americans would manufacture munitions for the Allies, the factories must somehow be put out of business. If ships would sail with cargoes of food, then bombs made by German marine officers on board a ship which had the hospitality of our ports must be placed on board. How else was Germany to win?

## CAN THE HONEST, GOD-FEARING SUBSTRATUM PREVAIL?

NOBODY who has ever known the Germans or lived among them can doubt that there is a substratum of honest, God-fearing and merciful people—else whence have come the millions of loyal German-Americans in the United States? Even here the German head mole-workers succeeded in organizing several hundred thousand secret aids and agents—we trust that most of them were unnaturalized Germans. The real question of the regeneration of Germany depends upon how far those honest and God-fearing people

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will have power and continuance. The throwing off of royal authority is an immense step, not only because it looks toward the breaking down of all artificial distinctions of rank, but because the heads of the German states were close linked with the German emperor in the Bundesrath, which was the actual instrument for concentrating German power in the war. As Henry Van Dyke puts it:

"God said, 'I am tired of kings.'" On this point the German people coincide with the Almighty.

Furthermore the Germans are very anxious to get back to their office hours. They are a practical, hard-working, money-making people, who have been fearfully drained of money and movable property by the war; who have suffered frightful losses of man-power. Give them a chance and they will drop international politics and settle down to their farms and their factories and their ships. They do not like to be licked, and they have naturally lost confidence in a Grace-of-God Emperor and a military aristocracy and a wealthy commercial class which could not prevent their being licked.

### THE THINKING MAJORITY VERSUS THE ORGANIZED MINORITY

WHO stands in the way of an industrial regeneration which will ease the progress of political regeneration? The Germans say it is the Allies, who do not permit them to get food and raw materials and shipping. The real difficulty, is, however, internal—it is the uncertainty as to what are the real, dominant forces in Germany. The old theory was that a citizen army was bound to be against war. That had not been the case in Germany, but the returning citizen army plainly has the physical power in its hands to set up and support a national government. Part of that army, however, is strongly Socialist in sentiment, and some regiments are supposed to have imported principles of anarchy from Russia. At present the strife is between extreme Socialists headed by Liebknecht, who probably would deny that they were Bolsheviki or Anarchists, and more moderate Socialists.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Germany is a great country for "der kleine Mann,"—what we call the "common people." But Hans on the farm and Karl as a railroad man, and Josef in his little shop, and Andreas at the forge, have not yet been heard from. It seems incredible that the extreme people who are now at the helm have behind them the majority, or even a considerable minority of the thinking people of the country. The question in Germany, as in Russia, is, how can the opportunity be given to the thinking majority to carry out its will over the heads of a tightly organized minority that has seized the rifles?

Unless Germany shows more speed in finding, organizing and proving this majority of well-meaning people, who are willing to give up not only conquest, but the spirit of conquest, the Allies will be obliged to furnish the necessary opportunity.

## THEIR OWN WORST ENEMY

THE whole purport of this article is that the Germans need a different horizon, different aims in life, a different conception of the proportionate importance of Germany as against the world, and of an individual German as against the citizen of another country. There cannot be seventy million criminals among the Germans—most of them must recognize that the day of pride and pomp and dictation has gone by for them. Throughout the war, the worst enemy of the Germans are the Germans themselves, because they have so clearly revealed what they consider German virtues. The time has now come for the German people to befriend the Germans by showing a moderation of thought, a chastening of spirit, a willingness to recognize that they have been traveling on the wrong road and must now turn a sharp corner—that is the first necessity of German regeneration.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# JAPAN'S PART IN THE WAR

## Her Military Advance With the Allies in Siberia

By DR. TOYOKICHI IYENAGA

[PROFESSORIAL LECTURER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO]

WE are now facing the supremely important moment in the history of nations—the time when justice is to be rendered to the wronged and punishment inflicted upon the evil-doers; when the efforts of each member of the Allies for the common cause are to be carefully weighed and due recognition given in accordance with their merits.

The world owes an immense debt of gratitude to Great Britain, France, Italy and the other Allies which stood for four terrible years against the onrushing tide of German aggression and have at last successfully rolled it back, and especially to the United States, which by its tremendous weight of man-power and resources and its dogged determination to win the war at any cost has finally turned the scales on the side of justice and civilization.

Japan's contribution to the allied cause, too, has by no means been small. The position Japan occupied in the war was unique. It has few parallels, if any, in the history of belligerency. Japan entered the war for reasons quite different from that which drove to arms Great Britain, Russia and France, whose territories and national existence were threatened by German invasion. Nor was the ground of Japan's joining the war the same as that which forced the United States to unsheathe her sword. America unsheathed her sword to vindicate her honor, after her patience and long-suffering had been exhausted by the ruthless violation of her rights, by the outrageous murder of her citizens, by the contemptuous disregard of her protestations against submarine warfare—all committed by the autocratic government of Germany and the military machine she had created to attain her monstrous ambition and greed—and to crush



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

once for all this arrogant militarism, and thus ensure the reign of democracy in the world.

Japan, on the other hand, entered the war in obedience to the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which imposed upon her the duty of conducting military operations in common with her Ally in the region of Eastern Asia and its waters. We need hardly emphasize that this fulfillment of the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty was in perfect accord with Japan's national interests, for the German aggressive designs in the Far East stood as a constant menace to her security and welfare.

Since that duty to her Ally was thoroughly discharged by the complete destruction of German power in the Far East, however, Japan has for the past three years been apparently standing aloof from the great conflict. While blood and treasure were being expended by her Allies on the European battlefields with a prodigality that staggered the imagination, the Oriental belligerent presented a strange anomaly of a bystander.

DRURY COLLEGE LIBRARY
Springfield, Missouri
43622

## WHY JAPAN STOOD ALOOF

IT is, then, well for us to fully understand the ground for this aloofness of Japan, as well as the part she has faithfully and loyally played in the war. The terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and her national interest limited Japan's war activities to the Orient. It was for this reason that at the beginning of hostilities she agreed with her Ally to confine her naval and military operations to the Far East and its waters. True, the sphere of Japan's naval activities was gradually extended. It was at first extended to the South Seas, then to the Indian Ocean, then to the Cape of Good Hope, then to embrace the whole Pacific, and, finally, a fleet of destroyers was sent to the Mediterranean to co-operate with the allied fleets in operations against the enemy submarine.

So far as land operations were concerned, however, the first agreement remained intact. This explains why Japan

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

did not send an expeditionary force to Europe. It was neither the wish of her Allies nor that of Japan that she should thrust herself upon the European stage, for it is none of her part to play therein. Such an undertaking, unless it be executed in an extreme emergency, was entirely out of harmony with the wise and far-sighted policy that should guide Japan, for in so doing she was bound to face the dilemma of either impairing her hard-won military prestige or of reawakening the cry of "yellow peril," which is now, fortunately, on the point of being committed to oblivion.

How the Occidental peoples felt loth to bring into play the Japanese troops on the European battlefields is sufficiently demonstrated by the hesitation of the American government to entrust the sole task of Siberian expedition to the Oriental associate. Again, there were almost insurmountable obstacles in the way of despatching an expeditionary force from Japan to Europe. The most formidable was the transportation problem. In transporting a million Japanese soldiers by sea—and nothing less than this number would have proved of any effective value in the gigantic conflict—with all the necessary paraphernalia of war, it would have required four millions of tonnage.

In other words, 1,000 ocean-going ships of 4,000 tons each. Were Japan to commandeer for the purpose of transportation the entire fleet of her merchant marine fit for ocean voyage, not only would much time—according to reliable estimates it would have taken two years and a half—have been expended before the completion of the transportation program, but in the meantime the commerce of the Far East with America and Europe would have been completely paralyzed. The foregoing reasons are sufficient to explain why Japan did not send a fighting force to Europe.

## HOW JAPAN DESTROYED THE GERMAN POWER IN THE EAST

SO far as it lay within her sphere and power, however, Japan did her utmost to further the Allied cause. The story of the destruction of German power in the Far East can

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be briefly told. Soon after the declaration of war, Japan despatched an army to the Province of Shantung, and, in conjunction with the British troops under the command of Major General Bernadiston, reduced the German stronghold of Tsingtao on November 7, 1914.

Japan also despatched the First and Second Japanese fleets and other squadrons to blockade the harbor of Kiachow, to hunt out the enemy warships roving the adjoining seas, to capture their bases in the South Seas, and to convoy the troops of Australia and New Zealand to Europe. The Kiachow campaign was, of course, but child's play compared with the colossal battles fought on the Eastern, Western and Balkan fronts of Europe. Nor did the work undertaken by the Japanese navy prove so arduous as the task imposed upon the allied fleets in European waters, although the vast extent of the sphere of activity allotted to the Japanese fleet and the consequent enormous length of the cruises they made are not generally known. The details of these naval efforts, together with the losses sustained by the Japanese navy and merchant marine, which were heretofore kept secret because of military necessity, will no doubt soon be made public.

The real significance of Japan's participation in the war will, I hope, stand in clearer relief if we let the imagination play a little and picture to ourselves the contingencies that might have arisen had not the Japanese army and navy been mobilized against the Central Powers. Would the channel of communication and of commerce between Europe and the Far East, with all that its security means, have been as safe as it had been for the last four years? What part of the Allied fleets, in addition to those already despatched, must of necessity have been withdrawn from the home waters to safeguard the road from Aden to Shanghai? Would not Germany, with her strong base at Kiaochow, have played a formidable role in disturbing the tranquillity of China, to the great detriment of the Allied cause? Would not German propagandism, once so active in stirring up revolt in India and in the Straits Settlements, have seen some measure of success, to the prejudice of British interests in her Asiatic

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dominions? In short, how was peace in the Far East and the Indian and Pacific Oceans, covering almost half of the globe, preserved during the past four years, and the interests therein of the Entente Powers safeguarded? In laying stress upon these points it should not be understood that I am belittling the great deeds of a part of the British fleet, with which the Japanese fleet co-operated, in keeping vigilant watch over the Oriental waters and discharging their allotted duties.

### JAPAN'S PART IN LOANS AND MUNITIONS

FURTHERMORE, Japan subscribed to the loans of her allies to the full extent of her financial capacity. The sum of about one billion yen, rendered serviceable in one form or another to the Allied cause, is no meagre contribution on the part of the Japanese nation, whose wealth is but one-twentieth of what the American people possess. Japan also supplied the Allies with much-needed munitions and other war materials, and especially to Russia did she assure a continuous flow of ammunition, guns, clothing and foodstuffs. Because of the Russian inefficiency to provide transportation facilities, these urgently needed materials did not reach the front on time.

I should not fail to emphasize here that the Japanese women, too, were not slow to participate enthusiastically in the war work. True to the nobler instinct of the gentle sex, they showed profound sympathy toward the sufferers from the war among the Allied peoples, and initiated plans of various description for relief work. They opened bazaars and amateur theatres to collect funds for the relief of the afflicted in Belgium, Serbia and Italy; organized clubs and societies, where they busied themselves in making bandages for the wounded, and knitted articles of comfort for the men in the trenches. They sent these articles on barge after barge to the front. In co-operation with the Japanese Red Cross, Japanese women have had the satisfaction of sending from their midst a few representative nurses for the wounded

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and the maimed in some of the Allied countries. Under the inspiration of the Japanese women, the society entitled "The Japan Association for Aiding the Sick and Wounded Soldiers and Others Suffering From the War in the Allied Countries," collected a fund of 1,940,000 yen and distributed it in due proportion in Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, Belgium, Serbia and Rumania. Speaking of it, the then Japanese Premier, as the official spokesman of the nation, said: "Those who receive the gift from Japan may well look upon it as the widow's mite, which means more than all the offerings of the rich."

The last contribution of Japan to the Allied cause—destined to have been the greatest had the war continued—was the aid given in co-operation with the United States and other Allied countries to the Russian people for their political and economic rehabilitation. Japan's move in Siberia should not be put in the same category as that of sending an expeditionary force to Europe. Siberia lies at Japan's door. She has, therefore, most vital interests involved therein. Moreover, as the guardian of peace in the Far East, Japan could not regard with indifference the gradual spread of chaos and anarchy that followed on the heels of the Bolsheviki and were bound to upset the existing order. Above all, it would have been criminal on the part of Japan and disastrous to have permitted the steady filtration of German influence into the Pacific littorals. These are the reasons that led to the decision of Japan to send an expeditionary force to Siberia.

## THE ALLIED EXPEDITION IN SIBERIA

FOR a considerable time a decision as to what should be done for Russia was not reached. The situation was not only confused but extremely delicate. The glorious name of Democracy was used by the newly constituted Russian government to mask intolerable wrongs imposed upon the ruins of Czarism. While the Allies delayed, Germany was making every effort to fasten her yoke upon the distracted

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

country. When the Bolsheviki overthrew the Kerensky régime they promised social equality and peace, but inaugurated instead a reign of terror, based on class hatred in its vilest forms. They treated as "a scrap of paper" Russia's solemn pledge not to make a separate peace; discarded other treaties into which Russia had entered; repudiated Russia's national debt, and entered on a career of robbery, brigandage and murder. As willing tools of Germany, the Bolsheviki leaders spread demoralization throughout the once splendid armies of Russia—armies that had put to rout the invading forces of Germany and Austria—causing their defeat and disintegration. Great Russia, that until recently overawed the world with her might, presents today the saddest spectacle of disorganization that history has recorded. With these Bolsheviki the Allies continued to flirt for some time.

The atmosphere began to clarify with the recognition by the American Government of the Czecho-Slovaks as a belligerent nation and the American intention to aid them in the accomplishment of their aims. It was a step tantamount to the declaration of hostilities against the Bolsheviki Government. It clearly defined the alignment between foes and friends in Russia, and opened a way to the Allied expedition to Siberia.

The American and Japanese governments, in concert with other Allied administrations, decided to undertake the expedition about the end of July. On August 2 the Japanese Government declared to the effect that they had agreed with the American Government to despatch troops "to relieve the pressure weighing upon the Czecho-Slovak forces," who, "aspiring to secure a free and independent existence for their race, and loyally espousing the common cause of the Allies, justly command every sympathy and consideration from the co-belligerents." The declaration concluded in these words:

"In adopting this course, the Japanese Government remain constant in their desire to promote relations of enduring friendship, and they reaffirm their avowed policy of respecting the territorial integrity of Russia and of abstain-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing from interference in her internal politics. They further declare that upon the realization of the objects above indicated they will immediately withdraw all Japanese troops from Russian territories and will leave wholly unimpaired the sovereignty of Russia in all its phases." The American Government made a declaration to the same effect on the same day.

### THE JAPANESE ARMY OPERATIONS

THE Twelfth Division of the Japanese army reached Vladivostock on August 11. The American contingent, composed of the 27th and 31st regiments stationed at the Philippines, landed at the Russian eastern port on August 16. Great Britain, France, Italy and China each sent a small force to join the expedition. The warm reception accorded to these troops by the inhabitants of Siberia at once dispelled a fear long entertained that the Russian people might rise *en masse* against such an expeditionary force.

For our present purpose we need not enter into the details of the Siberian campaign. Its broad outline is here given. The Allied expeditionary force, under the command of General Otani, began its operations in the middle of August. One column, whose main strength was the 12th Division of the Japanese army, moved from Vladivostock northward along the Usuri. In the region between Nikolsk and Iman, on the Usuri railroad, the Allies defeated the enemy who had been pressing hard upon the Czecho-Slovaks, pursued him in his northward flight, and entered Khabarofsk, capital of the Primorsk Province, on September 10. After the occupation of this important junction of many lines of communication, the 12th Division, co-operating with the American and Chinese troops, turned west along the Amour railroad with the object of clearing the enemy on that road and joining hands with another Allied column coming east from Chita. In this operation the Japanese naval force also co-operated by steaming up the Amour on enemy gunboats captured at Khabarofsk.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the meantime, the 7th Division of the Japanese army had been set in motion by way of Harbin with the object of extricating the Czecho-Slovaks, who were cornered by a superior enemy force near the shore of Lake Baikal. The approach of the 7th Division tended to relieve the pressure and enabled the Czecho-Slovak forces on the west to join hands with their comrades on the east. The enemy gradually withdrew northeastward along the Amour railroad. Thereupon, the 7th Division sent one contingent from Chita to move eastward along the railway in conjunction with the Czecho-Slovaks and the Cossacks under General Semenoff, in order to ensure the complete occupation of that important line of communication and to make a junction with the Allied force coming from Khabarofsk. Another cavalry detachment belonging to the 7th Division was also despatched from Tsitsihar to strike directly north and meet the Allies at Blagoviechensk.

At this strategic center on the Amour the enemy had resolved to make a strong stand, but the three converging movements of the Allies above described proved a complete success. The enemy, finding itself entrapped, after a feeble resistance, dispersed in various directions, while a large number surrendered or lost themselves by disarming amidst the civilian population. The Allies entered the city of Blagoviechensk in force on September 18 and 19, and shortly after other important towns and positions on the Amour fell into Allied hands. Peace and order were thus restored in the regions east of Lake Baikal.

### PROTECTING THE CZECHO-SLOVAKS

THE Japanese troops have already entered Irkutsk, while the French troops have gone as far west as Omsk. The program of the Allied Siberian expedition, the avowed purpose of which was to protect "the eastward-moving Czecho-Slovaks," has been successfully carried out, so far as it embraced the zone east of Omsk. The Czecho-Slovaks

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

operating in Greater Russia are, however, far from being out of danger. They are hard pressed by superior Bolsheviki forces and lack munitions and other supplies. President Masaryk and others have, therefore, made an urgent appeal to the Allies for help. Will the Allies heed the call?

After all, the Russian question remains a vast, unsolved problem. Doubtless it will be one of the most knotty questions facing the peace negotiators. The outstanding fact is that no government exists in Russia which has received recognition of the Allied governments. The Soviet republic is, of course, at odds with the Entente Powers, but none of the several governments established at various centers of the old Czardom has sufficiently demonstrated its stability and strength as to secure recognition. In fact, Russia is no more! She is divided into too many independent entities. With no status as a state, Russia can hardly expect to be admitted to the peace conference. Without such representation, Russia's plight would be that of the Prodigal Son left to the mercy of the generously-minded patrons. True, America has pledged her assistance to Russia, and other Allies have also evinced ample proof of their solicitude to give aid to the sane and sound elements of the Russian people. But how can such aid be effectively given, so long as non-intervention in Russian internal affairs remains the guiding principle of the Allies? Here we find the dilemma, exit from which awaits the wisdom of the Allied leaders.

The satisfactory settlement of the Russian question is the *sine qua non* of the peace treaty. Japan, as a neighbor, is profoundly interested in the speedy rehabilitation of Russia, political and economic. Japan has done and is doing everything within her sphere to give assistance to her former ally. She has already despatched an economic mission, headed by Baron Megata, to ascertain what service she can render in the line of material reconstruction of Russia.

In the great war, Japan has conclusively proved her loyalty to her allies. In the sublime hereafter she will remain steadfast to the Bushido, for therein lies her heart and future greatness.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# DANGERS THAT LURK IN GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

## Are Political Parties to be Subordinated to an Autocratic Socialization?

By HON. JAMES E. WATSON
[U. S. SENATOR FROM INDIANA]

GREAT questions have the habit of reappearing in human history. They reappear among all peoples and in all races; and since the establishment of this Republic we have been confronted at many periods with a tendency on the one hand to confer greater power upon the President, and the other to confer greater authority upon the majority. It is the larger outlines of this problem in which I am more deeply interested, because, having all my mature life been something of a student of the Government ownership and operation of public utilities and having also devoted some time to the study of the fundamental principles and the underlying policies of socialism, I am profoundly convinced that we are opening the door to that policy which, if relentlessly pursued, means inevitably a change in our form of government.

At the time of the formation of the Constitution the fathers were confronted with innumerable difficulties, but, fortunately for us, fortunately for mankind, they were equal to the herculean task. Gladstone has passionately exclaimed that the men who formulated that document were "great men, not for that time alone, but for any time, for all time."

These men had a most thorough and accurate knowledge of all the experiments in government made in the centuries gone. With profound insight into human nature and human motives, they understood at once the strength and the weak-



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ness of all these attempts at government, and they sought to formulate a system that would preserve the one and eliminate the other.

They gleaned from the frightful pages of history that governments in the past had not endured because they had failed to recognize one or the other of the two fundamentals of all stable government—the rights of the individual on the one hand and the rights of the State on the other.

### THE INDIVIDUAL VERSUS THE STATE

THEY knew that in some countries the fundamental principle of the government established was individual right and individual liberty—the one dominating, overwhelming idea being that the individual was everything and the State nothing. They saw that the application of that theory to the affairs of government ended in a tyranny of the one man so despotic that it could not long be tolerated, and that all such efforts resulted in an utter failure to accomplish the chief end for which government must be designed if it is to endure.

They understood, too, that in other countries the fundamental principle upon which their governments were established was the right and power of the majority—the one undisputed idea being that the State was everything and the individual nothing—and that the State was but the will of the majority as expressed at any given time.

They saw that governments thus established were unstable because the individual was entirely submerged and the minority was given no consideration whatever, and, of course, inasmuch as the man and the minority were deemed to have no rights, there was no provision made in any of these countries for protecting or defending them. Our fathers saw that this led to a tyranny of the majority as despotic and far more dangerous than the tyranny of the individual, for no matter how galling the rule of the one tyrant, the majority can finally overthrow his power and, if need be, destroy him. But who can behead the majority?

DRURY COLLEGE LIBRARY
Springfield, Missouri
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No matter how intolerable their rule, what power can stay the hand of the multitude?

And, therefore, our fathers saw that if they would establish a permanent government they must nicely adjust and balance the rights of the individual on the one hand and the rights of the State on the other, giving to each the largest possible sphere of activity consistent with the rights of the other and securing each from indiscriminate invasion by the other.

They knew, as every student of history must know, that the great struggles of the past were to secure the recognition of individual liberty; and they saw, as we, too, must see, that all governments that failed to take this fundamental into account when establishing their institutions have failed and fallen and passed into history.

They learned that because of this failure monarchies were destroyed, kingdoms subverted, principalities ruined, aristocracies overthrown, and that they were all finally swept away by the ever-ascending spirit of individual liberty, which is the white-winged angel of human progress. And yet they learned from a study of the past, as we, too, must learn, that any government founded upon the one overmastering principle of the liberty of the individual cannot endure. And so our fathers were confronted with the duty of recognizing and preserving the rights of the individual on the one hand and at the same time giving equal recognition and preservation of the rights of the State. And they wrought so splendidly, they wove a fabric so enduring, that from that time to this the progress of our country has challenged the wonder and the admiration of the world.

### THE FOUR PILLARS OF ENDURING GOVERNMENT

IN my judgment we are confronted with a condition that in the first place will add to the autocratic authority of one man, and on the other hand will give increasing power to the majority. These institutions of ours are based upon four fundamentals. They are, first, individual rights, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to preserve these individual rights a government threefold in character—legislative, executive, and judicial. The four pillars of enduring representative government, founded upon a constitution and preserved by its provisions, are, therefore, individual rights—the power of the legislature, the power of the executive, and the power of the courts. If either one of these pillars be pulled down by any blind Samson, the whole edifice will crumble and fall to ruin. Therefore, when we consider the result of giving increased power either to the President of the United States or to the people of the United States, we threaten the invasion of the sphere of representative government from both sides, which, if persisted in, must inevitably bring the whole fabric to destruction.

What do I mean by that proposition? We all know that for many years in this country the inevitable, aye, the well-nigh irresistible, tendency has been to augment the authority of the President of the United States. This has resulted, first, because of the general demand of the people, who almost universally believe in the President and insist on his sole leadership; and, second, because of his being the titular head of the party in power, and the general desire of members of Congress to follow his leadership for political reasons. This policy has been pursued both in peace and in war until now the President wields a power unprecedented in the history of the world.

### THE PRESIDENT'S POWER UNPRECEDENTED IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY

HE has the power; it is now in his hands; and we must trust alone to his patriotism and to his wisdom to use it wisely in the interests of the people and of the Government and not in a manner that will result disastrously to their highest concerns; and we must likewise trust to the wisdom and courage of Congress and the stability and determination of the people to see to it that this temporary power is turned back by the President to its legitimate spheres when the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

emergency that has caused its bestowal has happily passed.

We were told that this power would probably never be exercised, that these properties would not be taken over unless the President was compelled to act by the force of some great emergency.

This power was inaugurated when the railroads were taken over; and, unless Congress rose to check the onrushing tide, all the factories in the country engaged in the manufacture of munitions or war supplies would be laid hold of, and all the industries of the nation, save alone agriculture, would soon be under complete governmental control, and that would be so regulated as to be dominated by the bureaucracy at the National Capital.

Therefore, unless we were willing to march to the end along the highway upon which we have set out it would mean a fight to the death with national and international socialism when the tides of war shall have rolled away. Four millions of people on the payroll, four millions of Government employes at the close of the war, four millions of persons under direct obligation to the administration would constitute a tremendous organization to transform governmental control in time of war to governmental ownership in time of peace; and, if we are to credit Secretaries Baker, Daniels and Burleson, this is the avowed object of it all.

### THE DANGERS IN GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

IF it be stated that this prediction is only an idle dream, I answer that this use of these forces has already begun in this country and will become more and more dangerous as the number of industries under Government control is increased. "There is not room enough in this great world for the German flag and the American flag," remarked Secretary McAdoo at El Paso, Tex., to a meeting of railroad employes, on the 17th of April, "and we are going to make the American flag fly over Berlin before we get through." And then he continued: "The railroads must function 150 per cent, for we are not employes of the railroad companies but

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Uncle Sam, enlisted in the great legion of liberty." He asked the men not to become impatient because of the delay of fixing of the new wage schedule, adding that if a raise was granted to the railroad men it would be retroactive and they would then be able to buy Liberty bonds.

Then came this significant statement, which points the moral to my argument, in which he says:

> "You are all my boys, and I don't intend to let anyone kick you around, for I will defend you to the limit when you are right, and you won't go wrong I am sure."

That was as straight a bid for control as was ever made anywhere in this land. Suppose there were 4,000,000 of them, cannot anyone see the power, cannot anyone apprehend the danger? And what was the inevitable result? Scarcely had his words ceased to echo throughout the country until there was a perceptible letting down in efficiency among railroad men. This is but human nature, and nothing less was to be expected, for if the men who are employed are told by the man who employs them that, in substance, they can do as they please, and that nobody shall be permitted to interfere, as a matter of course that will result in a greater laxity in the performance of duty.

Everybody knows that this is the situation with the railroads today, and everybody must know, too, that the governmental control of the lines will mean a greater degree of inefficiency in their operation, just as it does wherever the Government controls. And this movement for government ownership, like a ball of snow, gathers force as it is pushed along.

No sooner had the railroads been taken over than wages were increased $300,000,000.

There was too much of a tendency here and now and always to accentuate class existence in the United States. Some want legislation for the farmers. Some want legislation for the laboring men. Some want legislation for the manufacturers. Others want legislation for the men engaged in some particular calling or vocation. I object to that sort of class legislation. We ought to have laws passed for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the benefit of the whole American people, knowing that what inures to the benefit of one would, if it be a just policy of government, inure to the benefit of all, and that what helps all would, with the proper exercise of industry, help each individual unit of society.

### CONGRESSIONAL AND PRESIDENTIAL POWERS DEFINED

WHEN we stand upon the seashore and look outward we are all one. Politics in the United States ceases at the shore line. Looking outward we proclaim to all the nations of the earth with many-voiced harmony that as a united America we are resolved to stand by American rights and to vindicate American liberty whenever and wherever assailed by any nation in all the broad circle of the earth. As to that resolution we are all one.

But when we turn our eyes inward and investigate the method by which that object shall be accomplished, we are essentially many men and many minds. While we are all trying to reach one goal, and are determined to reach it at whatever cost, the highway by which we shall travel to arrive at it is as much a matter of my judgment as it is the judgment of the President of the United States. That is up to the individual judgment and the individual conscience of the individual Senator sent to Washington to represent a sovereign State in the greatest legislative body in the world.

The question of the method by which we shall achieve victory, then, is not one for the exclusive determination of the Chief Executive, but a problem for the correct solution of which each individual member of Congress is also responsible.

If it be said that Congress has the right to raise and equip armies, I concur. That is not a presidential function; that is wholly a legislative function. Congress has the right to establish and maintain navies. This is entirely within the purview of Congressional authority. But after we have raised armies, after we have established navies, the only point of contact that the legislative branch has with the Army and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Navy is to raise revenue to support them. After being raised and established, the Army and the Navy pass over into the Executive sphere of action free from any influence of legislative authority.

But while that is true as to the Military Establishment, it is not essentially true as to the industry of the country. Congress alone has power to regulate commerce. The President of the United States, for instance, cannot take charge of the mines without the authority of Congress. It is the legislative function to regulate them as well as agriculture and manufacturing and transportation and navigation. That is the province of the legislative body. The President of the United States has no more right to invade that sphere without our invitation than we have to invade his sphere and determine upon the location of troops or the disposition of navies.

## CONGRESS HAS RELEASED ITS POWER

FINANCIAL and economic problems are not to be controlled by one man in our system of government, except in the case of most exigent necessity. Congress alone has the right to assume the initiative in dealing with these problems.

Therefore, when the President of the United States sends down word in some indirect and roundabout way that he would like to have control of all the telegraph and all telephone lines of the country, it is up to me to decide for myself as to whether or not that is a wise proposition. I am under no obligation to obey that voice unless it appeals to my conscience and addresses itself to my judgment, because Congress controls the Civil Establishment of the United States.

It is very truth, the present Congress has conferred upon him greater authority than is exercised by any other living man, and, in fact, has transferred to him practically all the power it has, save alone the right to raise revenue.

Under these conditions, with the administration de-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

manding and receiving such grants of power, is it conceivable that, if mistakes are made or if errors are committed, that we, the representatives of the people, are to sit still with sealed lips and bridled tongues and offer no suggestion as to improvements or betterments?

And in dealing with problems of such vast moment and consequence, is it thinkable that anyone is to be branded as a traitor or as a copperhead because he does not immediately accept any intimation, however diluted, that may emanate from the White House?

I resent such imputation. It is unworthy of anyone who holds a seat in this exalted place.

But we hear on every hand the resounding cry, "Stand by the President!" and we shall hear more of it in the coming days. But let it be understood once for all that if this means to stand by him as the constitutional head of the Government, it will find a ready response throughout the land. If it means to stand by him as Commander in Chief of the military forces of the nation, it will be indorsed by every patriot beneath the flag. But if it means to stand by him as a politician and a partisan, it will be resented by a multitude throughout the Union who do not believe in taking advantage of so terrible a situation as the present one to reap a partisan harvest. If it means to stand by him as the head of a party organization, I shall oppose it while I have voice to sound forth my protest.

### WILL NOT STAND BY PRESIDENTIAL PARTISANSHIP

I PLUCK no leaf from the laurel wreath that adorns the brow of the great man who sits in the White House, in the loftiest station of the earth; but yet we must all recognize the patent fact that Presidents are but incidents in the history of the land. As President of the United States, as the constitutional head of the Republic, as Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy, he shall have my unstinted support, and I shall readily accede to any request he makes that appeals to my judgment as a necessity of war. But as the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

head of a political organization, or as one who is seeking his own reelection he shall have none of my support.

Men come and men go, but institutions remain. Nations come; they play their part upon the stage and pass into history, but fundamentals abide. I look away beyond Woodrow Wilson as an individual, to the Constitution, the country, and the flag, and when they tell me to "Stand by the President" I construe that to mean to stand by the Constitution, stand by the country, and stand by the flag, and stand by Woodrow Wilson as President of the United States, clothed with executive power, representing them all. That is my doctrine, and by that I am willing to either stand or fall.

We now have the Government control of railroads, and if to that we are to add a like control of telegraphs and telephones, of express companies, and of mines, we shall have on the payroll 4,000,000 of people, subject to all the temptations of American political life.

These people will inevitably organize to help themselves, and to this end they will not scruple to use their power with the ruling administration. The tendency of that administration will undoubtedly be to accede to those demands, to raise wages if there be even a pretext for such a movement and to comply with whatever other demand may be made. This is human nature and cannot be cast aside, and we all know to what extent political parties will go in the heat of campaigns.

But we must not forget that, as we increase the number of Government employes working under the direction of the Chief Executive, we inevitably increase his power; and that, as we increase the number of persons subject to his appointment or removal, we augment his influence over the legislative body, whose members are seeking these appointments.

And, singularly enough, this causes the invasion of the legislative sphere from both sides, for, by placing this greater number under the control of the Government, it makes possible the adoption of the policies of the initiative, the referendum, the recall, and all the other incipient stages of socialism, the inevitable tendency and the express object of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which is to weaken the legislative branch of government.

### INVASION OF LEGISLATIVE FUNCTIONS LEADS TO SOCIALISM

WE see the manifest results of one phase of such a policy in Mexico, where the right of the majority to rule is unquestioned, and where this unbridled majority is not held in subjection by a powerful autocrat, as it was in the days of Diaz.

We see such results also in many similar efforts in the history of the past, and by scanning the present situation in some of our South American Republics, as well as in Mexico today, where the will of the majority is unquestioned, where individual liberty is set at naught, where individual rights count for nothing, where the minority is ruthlessly trampled under foot by the unscrupulous power of the maddened majority. In those countries, and more and more in this country, the people follow men and not measures; they advocate leaders and not ideas; they crystalize their forces about persons and not parties; the brilliant leader of today will be overthrown by the brilliant leader of tomorrow; the whimsy of this hour will be cast aside by the whimsy of the next hour; and stability, which springs alone from an unwavering adherence to fixed principles of government, and which is essential to progress and prosperity, is unknown.

We see in Germany a manifestation of the other extreme. That country is the most highly socialized nation in the world. The German Government owned all the railroads; it owned all the telegraph and telephone lines; it owned the express companies; it owned or controlled all the lines of steamboats. Their education was all conducted at public expense; their great free laboratories were unexcelled in the world; bounties were paid on every hand, to her inventors, her scientists, and her philosophers. Germany's laws touching workmen's compensation, employers' liability, old-age pensions, and all such similar paternalistic legislation, made for the highest degree of socialization ever before known on this earth.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But how was it all wielded? By the one man at the head of it all, the one tyrant who governed it all and controlled it all, and who wielded that immense organization because this socialized state enabled him to do it.

### WE ARE APPROACHING THE GERMAN SYSTEM OF CONTROL

WE are coming nearer and nearer every day to that system in this nation, for if we pursue to the limit the policies proposed it will be a question of a very few years until a President will be able to force his reelection for life: First, the autocratic authority of one man; second, the enlarged power of the people, the two acting together and reacting upon each other and constantly weakening the legislative branch of the Government. This is as inescapable as the deductions of logic, and we can no more free ourselves from these manifest results than we can from the laws of nature.

What reason is there why this branch of our Government should be weakened or its usefulness in any wise impaired? Why should its foundations be undermined? No other nation boasts of such progress as ours since this system was adopted. Under these institutions where liberty is regulated by law and where the Constitution guarantees the largest measure of individual rights with the largest measure of community rights, we have gone from success to triumph, and from triumph to glory, and are enabled today to shoulder the mighty burdens of the world. Unless, therefore, there be some very urgent reason, some imperative demand, for a change in our form of government, no excuse can be offered for the adoption of the policy of government ownership proposed by all the socialists of the day.

This control, like the pests of Egypt, is to be brought into our very kneading troughs; it is to reach into every home; and we are to have an army of men going up and down the country nosing into everybody's business, spying into everybody's affairs. It matters not that a man is as loyal to the flag as is the President himself, all his private com-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

munications with his friends and neighbors are to be censored by representatives of the Government he helps to sustain. I denounce that as an un-American policy unworthy of the traditions and history of this great Republic; and I shall never give my assent to a proposition that will fill the Republic with spies and interfere with the freedom of communication in the nation.

If the loyalty or patriotism of any man is suspected, let him be investigated, let him be placed under surveillance, let his communications be censored, but do not in order to catch the guilty few inaugurate a universal system of espionage in the country that will prove expensive and oppressive and achieve no results comparable to the mischief it will produce.

I believe that it opens up a highway which, if we tread it, will lead finally to the overthrow of this Republic. Our boys, when they come back, should come back to a republic, come back to a nation which believes in liberty and in equality and in fraternity.

# THE CLEFT

By RUTH MASON RICE

A CLEFT between two ideas that oppose,
Revolt unbridled at unbridled greed,
Flung down between the fastnesses of wealth—
A gauntlet—in the name of Liberty;
License to kill, as license to exploit—
Anarchy both, and both autocracy,
Meeting to fight the last and fatal fight
For that Democracy which each conceives its right,
Enunciated loudly as its own;
Each understandable to each—only in this—
Each wants the throne.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# REBUILDING OUR FOREIGN TRADE

## America's First Duty in Readjusting World-Commerce

By HON. WILLIAM C. REDFIELD
[SECRETARY OF COMMERCE]

WE need and are to have a large and expanding foreign trade, free from all restraints save those of economic laws, but the time to rush into our foreign trade expansion is not yet. Patriotism did not cease at 11 o'clock on November 11 with the signing of the armistice.

Upon the spirit in which we first exert our energies to supplying France, Belgium, Poland, Italy and Great Britain with what they sorely need depends the commercial good-will of America abroad in the coming years.

There are certain things that a gentleman cannot do, and certain things that a great nation cannot do. Certain conditions make it difficult for us to now hurry about reorganizing and expanding our foreign trade. Famine still stalks through Continental Europe, a million dwellings must be rebuilt there, material is needed for roads, bridges, factories, rolling stock for railroads, finished and raw materials; twenty million tons of food must be sent abroad by us during the coming year, and it is also the merest common sense so to proceed that those who owe us largely, and must purchase from us largely, shall have their earnings and therefore their paying power as soon as possible restored.

We were called a nation of shopkeepers, we were called chasers after the almighty dollar by they abroad who did not know us, but in the crisis we supplied freely the dollars needed over there in the great war against militarism, despotism and the world power coveted by a nation that can no longer walk upright amongst the world of nations. Now they know that we are more than shopkeepers, more than chasers after the almighty dollar, they know of our army of four million raised



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with miraculous speed, of our army of more than two million sent across, of our sons who, put in the most difficult sections of the battlefront, plunged through against enemy defence that had hitherto been regarded as impregnable, and they know of our many thousand young Americans now sleeping beneath war's wooden crosses.

A dollar-chasing nation now, in the eyes of Europe? No, not that, but the "saviour nation," a proud title fairly earned by us, and, since we are still our brothers' keeper, we must continue to make sacrifices until their scars of war are healed.

Our forefathers had "a decent regard for the opinion of mankind" and we must maintain that regard.

### OUR PRESSING DOMESTIC DUTIES

OUR foreign commerce can and will be rebuilt all in good time. It will not be so much a matter of reconstruction as of evolution, growing out of the settlement of as yet unsolved National and International problems. We have been discussing the rebuilding of our foreign commerce more than is wise, and as if it could be picked up exactly as we left it at the beginning of the world war. It is not time to rush into this matter. We have even more pressing domestic duties and opportunities. There is urgent need to develop our resources of minerals, to produce potash, to establish more firmly our new industries, to reclaim fertile swamp lands and to find and use their products, to study our native fibres and thus free ourselves from dependence on foreign sources for them, to develop our roads that they may no longer be a national reproach, to set up an effective motor-truck service, to get our waterways made and set at work with modern craft and terminals, to finish our surveys that commerce may safely use all our ports and coast waters, to study and develop the great empire which is Alaska, to find and use the vast resources of the Philippines and Porto Rico, to put our water powers into service, to seek and end industrial wastes, to co-operate further in the great work already done in commercial

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conservation and standardizing, and in these and kindred ways to make America truly independent.

All this work must be done and yet our foreign trade must not be left undone. But just now our foreign trade must be along lines that will help our Allies. Our country once looked to London, Paris, Amsterdam and, alas, Berlin and Vienna, for funds with which to operate here, so that many of our large corporations had part of their capital owned in those financial centers. But today our country is the greatest creditor nation on earth. Our great debt owed to Europe has long been paid and Europe now owes us more than $8,000,000,000 and she will add to this debt from time to time.

When there seemed to be no more available wheat in the world, or else so distant that, with lack of ships, it could not be taken to Europe—when we had used up more than our entire exportation surplus, we took it from our tables, from the daily meals of ourselves and our children, and sent to Great Britain and France more wheat than the visible exportation surplus at the beginning of the export season! With our dollars, our sacrifices of food, our man power, we made our Allies understand America's vast strength, and it is natural now that our European friends will ask: "What is the American heart behind the American power? They have been unselfish thus far, this giant power in the west; they have given their sons and their money and their food without stint, what will they do with the power they have now acquired?"

Some may even whisper the query, "Will America's unselfishness cease now that the armistice has been signed?" America can answer with a most emphatic "No!"

## GERMANY'S RUTHLESS COMMERCIAL POLICY

WE never approved of the German method of carrying on commerce any more than we approved German militarism—both of which are at this moment crushed and the latter for all time, while if German commerce revives it

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

must undergo a great change. Some of us believed the oft-repeated phrase, "Germany's superior intelligence has given them great efficiency." Nothing of the sort. German intelligence is on a low scale, her commerce was built up solely to, in turn, supply wealth to build up her military machine that world power might be won. German tradesmen came here backed by a government organization which permitted concerns to pool their losses, which allowed them to sell in one country so that tariffs might be useless and make up the difference by high prices in another land, which gave them preferential rates on railroads and special advantages on government-controlled steamship lines, and their commercial campaign was at times accompanied by a wholesale system of bribing. We did not like that then and we shall never act in a similar spirit. We shall not make of the American eagle what the Germans made of the Prussian eagle—a hog rooting in the mire.

Our commerce must be a constructive force and never a thing destructive. We resented the German attempt at economic conquest backed up by military force, but it would be quite as evil if we allowed the power of economic force, ruthlessly exerted throughout the world, to grasp, for our sole profit, the commerce of the world.

Commerce is not commerce in any just sense unless it benefits all concerned. We must serve the world if we are to be on a safe foundation ourselves. The mere entering of a foreign market by force of cut prices, or of off-quality goods, or by "dumping," or by untruthful advertising, or by force of government aid or political power, is in no true sense commerce, nor can it last. We must not learn the evil lesson from those whose power we have destroyed. We must carry our flag as high in the commercial world as we carried it before our valiant armies.

When our new foreign commerce is evolved—after the needs of our foreign friends have been filled—we are going to play the game like gentlemen and make our methods such as shall survive because they shall always render real service.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If there be any who would now neglect our Allies who are struggling to heal their war wounds and jump in to wage an unequal commercial war it is because they lack two things—patriotism and common sense. The buying power of the world at large has been reduced. Great Britain, France, Italy and other powers are not now in their former favorable position to buy merchandise in the general market, nor are Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and Canada. They have been buying other things, they have other duties now, they have not yet fully paid for all of their vast purchases and they are not able to purchase as they could before the war.

### WHAT WE MUST DO FOR EUROPE

WE can, in this article, leave aside the question as to whether Germany can feed herself during the coming winter. We do know that perhaps eighty million people in Russia will not have enough food this winter because of the Frankenstein the Bolsheviks built and called "freedom." We must be sure that Belgium, Serbia, Poland, Armenia, France, Italy and Great Britain have enough to eat, hence the 20,000,000 tons of food we must send over.

Devastated Europe must be rebuilt, as I have so briefly outlined. Who is going to pay the bills? We have a debt that would have caused us to sigh heavily a few years ago, and now, despite this, we are going to lend them more and more, for it is right that we should. Shall we allow Belgium to suffer for lack of funds with which to reconstruct Liége? Shall Lille go idle and the looms of Roubaix cease? We must see that these people are furnished the credits to pay. They cannot finance themselves unless we do a large part of it for them. Great Britain, with the marvelous resources of her Empire, can probably finance herself and her sister nations that form that Empire, but France and Belgium, Italy, Serbia and Poland cannot and, in some measure, we must furnish the means.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thus have we got to feed many and in a large measure furnish them with materials and machinery and equipment to start their commercial lives anew. It was with all this in mind that I wrote at the beginning that there are certain things that a gentleman cannot do and certain things that a great nation cannot do. Our own future prosperity depends in no small measure upon our doing our part to restore the earning power of those who owe us large sums and who have lost heavily in fighting for our cause. It is always good business sense to help a generous, friendly creditor to find his strength again.

None of us want to be the hated creditor of the world. All of us want to be the servant of the world and we can serve through trade if we will. We must do so if our trade is to last. It must not be written of us that we were the world's hardest creditor in the time of the world's greatest need.

We shall get and we shall welcome a normal and growing foreign trade, coming in a normal, unhurried way, but we must help our friends to their feet rather than neglect them in order to hunt present-moment profits.

Beware of the temptation to lay hands rashly upon wages. The responsive power of contented and well-paid labor to farsighted leadership in industry is the greatest force in production, and happy are they who have it behind them. If we rely, as others have done to their cost, on favors or subsidies or other adventitious advantages, we must not object if, in the coming days, our rivals seize hold of similar ways. We must not look to a commercial future won by means of such weapons. The path of safety and peace is not there, but only danger and, ultimately, disaster. Not selfishness, not the sheer desire for personal or even national wealth, must control, but the spirit of profit through service. There, and there alone, is security.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OURS MUST BE THE GOLDEN RULE OF BUSINESS

THERE is another factor to consider in relation to any attempt to start an immediate foreign commerce campaign, and that is the present capacity of the world's shipping. It is admitted that we have got to feed the world for a while and this will take ships. We must help rebuild the million destroyed dwellings, we must supply manufactured and raw materials and all this will take ships and more ships. The bringing home of a large part of our two million men in Europe is taking still more ships. And we are going to keep a good sized army, at that, over in Europe for a long while. These men must be fed and be furnished with supplies, all of which we must send to them in ships.

We do not know what is behind that Russian veil. A job may need to be done there that we dare not leave undone. We hope this will not be necessary, but we always meet a necessity and this one of the several reasons for maintaining a strong army abroad.

I believe that every ship in the world will be busy every minute for the next two years doing work in which ordinary foreign commerce plays an extremely small part. It is true that many of our ships will be used for our growing and developing South American trade, but these are mostly vessels of a type which it is not economical to send abroad.

In a certain sense we are today at the commercial parting of the ways. An official of an immense manufacturing concern recently said:

> "Democracy in commerce would prompt us to recognize our foreign competitors and to seek the welfare of those with whom we trade in order that we may continue to share in a welfare to which we contribute; mutual good will inevitably follows and where good will exists war is impossible. It prescribes the continual exercise of what has been called 'The Golden Rule of Business.'"

It was last August that Mr. Hurley declared in a formal statement:

> "It is unthinkable that a nation, fighting shoulder to shoulder with other great democracies, should, after the war,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

turn its resources against them for trade conquests of the very kind which were largely instrumental in bringing on the war."

There will probably be needed for the near future some continued measure of control over certain exports, both to see that raw material and equipment are equally distributed among those who have served us well and that we are not drawn dry ourselves. This should, and doubtless will be, limited and temporary.

### HOW THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE WILL HELP

NEVER must we lose sight of the fact that even our present enemies—and I hold them as such—Germany and former Austria-Hungary, must have trade if they are to have means of paying the obligations that will be imposed upon them. We cannot act in the foreign fields as if we stood alone. But I hold that Government restrictions are not required further than the temporary and limited control suggested, but that economic and financial laws will provide the needed guidance.

The Department of Commerce proposes to help in three distinct ways: by direct propaganda and an enlarged service of information in all lands; by continuing the admirable work of commercial conservation and standardization, involving the stopping as far as it is possible of all industrial wastes; and by placing through its great new industrial laboratories the fruits of science and research at the service of industry.

Prosperity lies ahead for America. There is no doubt of it. But there is yet an unsolved doubt as to what use America will make of her prosperity. When we get beyond the three-mile limit shall we be as far advanced in our thoughts as we are at home? Shall we carry the spirit of American law where the law of America does not prevail? If we do not we shall doubtless become fat and rich and win what? The contempt of the world in so doing.

How will the world feel toward America twenty years from today?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If we can leave to our sons as they go about the earth the knowledge that America rose to a height of marvelous power, financial, military, political, industrial and economical, and that she used that power to her own good always and also always for the good of the world, then our sons can walk as no German can walk, can travel the world over among friends knit to one another with bonds of esteem and affection which cannot be broken.

# SHOULD I FARE FORTH

By LEONIE DAVIS COLLISTER

SHOULD I fare forth into the ageless dark
While earth is radiant with the life of you,
I'll find some voice to make your spirit hark,
Some star will flash my message through.

The space that living man cannot explore,
Your memory shall make me live and feel,
My spirit and my flesh shall re-adore
And all the earth songs of our love reveal.

I'll write within the shining book of dawn
A message that your yearning eyes will see,
For while the other waiting dead sleep on,
Your memory will stir the heart of me.

I cannot die, while yet your love shall burn
A pathway through the iron door of death—
My ears shall hear, my sightless eyes discern
All life through you, your thought shall be my breath.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE EVILS IN OUR DEMOCRACY

## Weak Spots in Our National Life That Must Be Remedied

By HON. CHARLES S. THOMAS
[U. S. SENATOR FROM COLORADO]

*What is Democracy—can it be preserved? What are its shortcomings?—What is our task to preserve it?—as viewed by the able Senator from Colorado.*

WHAT is Democracy? Democracy is not militarism, nor anarchy. It is not socialism nor lawlessness. It does not confer absolute freedom, for that is inconsistent with equality of right. It does not require a Republic, for the development of its principles are strangers to many of them while the blessings are enjoyed by the subjects of many Monarchies.

Democracy is synonymous with ordered liberty which respects and safeguards the rights of all. Its congenial structure is Republicanism, and Elihu Root has finely said that Republican government is organized self-control. Henry Ward Beecher declared the real democratic idea to be not that every man should be on the level with every other, but that everyone shall have liberty without hindrance to be what God made him. Any condition interfering with this conception is an unhealthy one. It may be deemed essential to class interest but it is not Democratic.

Democracy finds its natural expansion in social, economic and political development. From the friction thus engendered come the ills which threaten its integrity. These lines of development must now pass through a period of readjustment before they again become normal.

Perhaps the most insidious danger to Republican institutions is the indifference of the citizen to his public duties. The beneficiaries of free government become indulgent and comfortable; their responsibilities grow irksome and annoying. Their vigilance relaxes in their struggle for material things. Their time is absorbed in the pursuit of gain. The



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

diversion of their energies from the needs of government is the opportunity of privilege, and privilege undermines Democracy. The ills of the body politic will continue until the people awake to a full sense of civic obligation and realize that theirs is the business of government. To bring about this condition is a fundamental factor in the public equation.

### WHAT THE TAXPAYERS MUST DEMAND

THE war leaves us the legacy of a stupendous debt. It will reach, if it does not exceed, $35,000,000,000. The annual interest upon this stupendous sum will be $1,400,000,000. This means a vastly increased rate and radius of taxation. The people will bear the burden willingly, if economy in public administration and the application of every dollar to the public needs shall become the policy of the Government. They will not and should not be content if the gross extravagances of the past continue.

In 1910, Senator Aldrich declared that ordinary efficiency in public administration would annually save the people $300,000,000. It would now save twice that sum. If the taxpayers of America will unite in demanding a radical revision of our public service, a consolidation of duplicating bureaus, and the institution of the budget system in appropriations, it will be done. If they will also rigidly supervise public expenditures, taxation can be largely reduced. If they fail to do this, our appropriations will keep increasing, for every demand made upon the Treasury is complied with when political or organized force is behind it, and everything in these days is organized except the man who pays the taxes. Moreover, the huge debts of the nations, however well their revenues are managed and applied, will always be a fruitful source of disaffection.

To those possessing none of it, yet paying taxes to meet its fixed requirements, the impulse toward repudiation may ripen into an insistent clamor. Once begun, it may spread like the virus of influenza, from nation to nation, and from public to private obligations. Nothing could be more disastrous to a people than the success of such a movement,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which will inevitably arise, whatever our policy. It is certain to materialize if in our financial administration we do not at all times apply sound principles to taxation and exercise a wise and frugal economy in expenditures. Nothing is more difficult in a Republic than this, if public interest is lax or non-existent.

### LABOR SHOULD UNDERSTAND ECONOMIC LAWS

READJUSTMENTS toward normal conditions must inevitably react on war prices and wages. The first will not be disturbing, the last may prove alarmingly so. Lowering of salaries and wages, though absolutely essential to a falling market, is always opposed by the wage earner and frequently to the extremes of violence. The higher these have risen, the more bitter the opposition to their diminution becomes. This inevitable situation should be promptly recognized and every effort made to prepare against it. Labor should be urged to acquaint itself with the economic laws which compel the change, and with its compensation in lowered cost of living. And the change should come as gradually and as universally as possible. These precautions may be taken without difficulty, with little trouble and with less expense. Their importance is self-evident. The most prejudiced and sometimes the most ignorant of men will listen to the persuasive influence of sympathetic discussion if interposed before their resentment becomes inflamed by a sense of injustice.

Our immigration laws have been largely moulded by political and economic considerations. The same is true of those relating to naturalization. Much of our immigration has represented the best of Europe. These have been of inestimable value to the country. They have cast their lot in America for all time, sharing our burdens and responsibilities, and aiding in the great task of building a new nation upon a virgin continent.

But the demand for labor and the need for ballots have flooded our shores with a mass of humanity apparently unassimilable.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The disruption of the Central Powers, followed by the establishment of popular government for their liberated peoples, will doubtless remove all restrictions upon their continued emigration. The burden of debt, coupled with unsettled economic conditions, will encourage the western movement of their population. The added stimulus of the great steamship companies, eager for their old steerage traffic, may rapidly re-establish the high tide of ante-war immigration. If it is to be checked, the dam must be erected on this side of the Atlantic, and no time should be lost in its construction.

### BOLSHEVISM STARTED IN OUR SWARMING CENTRES

BOLSHEVISM has given the world a hideous illustration of the fundamental truth that when liberty is divorced from law, justice disappears. The freedom of unrestrained license is the only freedom of the mob. Under the sway of that many headed despot, crime holds high carnival. It is to this chaos that International Socialism would lead the world. Russian anarchy is popularly ascribed to the oppression of the Romanoff dynasty. That is largely true. Yet it is a sinister fact that excepting Lenine, nearly all the leaders of Russian Bolshevism graduated from the swarming centers of New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. Trotsky, Volodarsky, Kritzky, Martoff, are some of them. Their bloody program was formulated here, and here they proposed to test it, when opportunity beckoned, and Russia became their victim. From that Continental slaughter house they salute their accessories in America and urge them to the commission of similar atrocities.

The assimilation of races, so essential to a national unity, cannot be effected under conditions now prevailing. While they continue, our citizenship must be heterogeneous and discordant. A polyglot people, without geographical separation, with conflicting aims and ideals; united, yet socially, morally and economically antagonistic, cannot endure in a Republic. Racial classification is the precursor of racial animosities, and racial animosities imperil the national safety.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But our trend toward class distinctions is not wholly ethnological. It proceeds as well along other lines, and finds expression in trades, in agriculture, in legislation. Our Federal laws bristle with clauses recognizing and favoring them. In matters of penalty, revenue, trusts, transportation and appropriation, we frequently exclude foreigners, workmen, government employees, fraternal organizations and some others from punitive and burdensome enactments. We also extend them privileges not conferred upon others less potential in numbers or influence. The equal protection of the laws will, if this practice be not abandoned soon, be honored more in the breach than the observance.

## LAWS MUST BE UNIFORM IN THEIR APPLICATION

THE laws are potent for the protection and welfare of the citizen only as they are uniform in their application, just in their mandates, and respected by the people. Laxity in their enforcement and indifference to their requirements have long been a conspicuous and sinister feature of our national life. This is particularly true of the criminal law. The disparity between homicides and convictions will serve to illustrate the assertion. Their proportions are as thirty to one, and those due to labor controversies seldom reach the stage of a formal indictment. The expense of modern litigation, crowded dockets and the law's delays may be largely responsible for the low level of public respect for statutes and constitutions, but whatever the cause, the evil is a serious one. The public safety depends upon the public order; the public order rests upon the sanction and the mandate of the law, and the law is made contemptible whenever its protection is denied to the meanest citizen.

To this condition we must plead guilty, for it is a melancholy fact that the citizen frequently is denied the equal protection of the laws, either by exposure without redress to acts of violence or through the tedious and expensive processes of legal machinery. Both mean a denial of justice, and Burke said that a government not founded on justice

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

labored under the imputation of being no government at all.

If our organic act means anything, every citizen is free to work according to his own desire. He should be subject only to the limitations of the law. To interfere with this right or permit others to do so with impunity is to undermine the foundations of our political structure. A law which does not throw the shield of its protection around him is worse than useless. It is a wanton delusion. On the other hand, ample punishment for the commission of crimes is provided and safeguards as well for the shielding of the innocent. All that is needed is their vigorous enforcement. If they are not applied, the fault is with the community much more than with the criminal. Let no man therefore justify his contempt for the law by pleading its non-enforcement. For that he is in part responsible.

With all due allowance for considerations peculiarly applicable to the negro, he is entitled to the guardianship of the white man. The great war gave him the opportunity to prove his devotion to his country, and well has he improved it. Who will deny that the negro has earned his right to the equal protection of his country's laws?

## ENEMIES TO ORDER AND CONTENT

OURS is a land of waste, and waste is the enemy of thrift. Some one has said that with our resources the French would have saved enough since the century began to pay her own and Britain's war expenses. The war has brought us the wisdom and the simplicity of thrift. We should make it a national virtue. It is the best cure for discontent, and grows with its practice. A thrifty man need make no search for something to relieve his needs. He has it. It is a fact of the highest significance that modern socialism discourages thrift. Thrift is the foe of disorder, a virtue that becomes hostage to fortune. Hunger is stranger to it, and hunger never breeds reforms. Hunger breeds riot and bloodshed.

In America hunger is a social crime. Out of our abundance we can feed other continents. The fault lies in dis-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tribution. If private control of transportation cannot solve the vital problem of its distribution, public control must. Democracy requires food and part of her mission is to secure it.

Corporate mismanagement and consolidation, huge issues of fictitious capital, corners in foodstuffs, manipulation of stock markets, fortunes realized over night through financial jugglery, preponderant control of money and credits disfigured the commercial history of the two decades preceding our declaration of war. They constitute a sordid and humiliating chapter of greed and financial profligacy and simply justify the wave of public disapproval culminating in political revolt and codes of primitive legislation.

These practices cannot be too seriously criticized. They have inspired as they have justified every extreme of agitation. They have been condemned alike by radical and conservative. It is not too much to say that they have done more to inflame public sentiment, breed anarchy and stir up socialist propaganda than any single influence of the century. It is the anarchy of capital. It is Bolshevism in high life. Such operations cannot be resumed if we hope to preserve free government in America.

Otherwise than in the fortunate development of mines, great wealth may be suddenly acquired only through sinuous and criminal manipulation. Its frequent occurrence demoralizes the people. It begets discontent and compels imitation. The effort to get rich quick becomes infectious. Men look with disdain upon the slow but legitimate processes of accumulation, and drift from plodding industry to the stock-ticker and the exchanges. And as the vast majority of the seekers for sudden wealth are predoomed to failure, they will sooner or later join the ever-increasing army of the discontented and reproach the social order for their misfortunes.

### THE EVILS OF THE WELL-TO-DO. CAPITAL AND LABOR

THE well-to-do element of the country is its most influential class. It occupies the great domain of leadership and constructive development. It can ill afford to weaken

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the social and economic structure. It cannot commit or countenance methods which breed discontent and unsettle confidence. What it does or abstains from doing, is therefore of great concern to the public and of prime importance to itself. When confidence in its honesty or public spirit is impaired or overthrown, the hour of upheaval will come. I therefore affirm that the suppression of the financial malversations so prevalent during the past quarter century is an insistent and overshadowing duty. Bolshevism and its kindred evils are their legitimate offspring. They supply the soapbox orator with his best ammunition and silence the protests of those who would eliminate him.

The chasm between labor and capital must be spanned. This cannot be done by force, by class resentments, nor by recrimination. Each of these great forces must understand the other's viewpoint. Both must realize that they are complements and co-workers of progress. Without the one the other is moribund. Neither can be discarded from the economies of trade and industry. Co-operation between them is indispensable to the public and private well being. They must become partners in the largest sense, each exercising its legitimate functions for a common purpose. To assert this is a simple performance; to bring it about is a task for Titans. But it must be done.

The perspective is sombre but not at all discouraging. Every generation has its tasks, and if ours is unduly burdensome, its performance will place posterity under a larger obligation. Let us, therefore, one and all, clear the situation and strive to make our beloved country all that its ideals require.

## WHAT WE MUST DO

WE must institute and enforce a rigid economy in public administration. We must unify our citizenship. We must have a common language with which all men and women must be made familiar. We must bring our institutions and traditions home to the understanding of everyone. We must extend the hand of sympathy and encouragement

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to every alien in the land, give him a share in the country's affairs, and imbue him with the spirit of America. We must discourage the community life of the foreigner by teaching him the need for assimilation. We must require him to become naturalized within a fixed time after his arrival or return whence he came. We must make him learn the English tongue and become reasonably familiar with the requirements of citizenship as a candidate of naturalization. We must suppress all associations devoted to the commission of crime and the advocacy of disorder. We must radically change our immigration laws. We must have no ensign but the Stars and Stripes. We can have no companionship with the red flag of anarchy and revolution. We must assert and enforce the equal protection of the laws, do away with the mob and gibbet the lyncher. We must teach the great truth that organized and ordered society is essential to man's existence and that protection of life and property is the basis of all government worthy of the name. We must demonstrate that the strict observance of law is necessary alike to the happiness of nations and the security of communities. We must make treason odious. We must harmonize the discordant factions of industry and commerce. We must, if need be, forget party ties in the stress of tremendous obligation. We may each and all, faithful to our traditions, and reverencing our ideals, struggle as Democrats and Republicans for the supremacy of our convictions, but we must remember that we are above all, Americans, whose first and final duty is to perpetuate the welfare and shape the destiny of the great Republic. The ark of Democracy's covenant was committed to Anglo-Saxon keeping long ago. Our fathers have proven worthy of the trust; we, too, must keep the faith. Henceforth the United States shall be a great training ground for the growth and development of a stalwart and genuine Democracy.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# PROBLEMS FOR WORLD PEACE

## The Questions that Confront an International Congress

By HON. WILLIAM H. TAFT

THE international compact which is to follow this war is to be more ambitious than any ever made before. The world is larger, the nations are more numerous, the field of war has been greater, and the political changes are to be far more extensive than the world has ever known. The only peace comparable with this is that which was made after Napoleon's fall by the monarchs who constituted the Holy Alliance. That was a League of Nations, with a high-sounding declaration of disinterestedness and love of peace. It was a failure because the real purposes which governed its formation and life were wrong and unstable. It rested on the Divine right of Kings, and its objects were to recognize dynastic claims and to establish and maintain them. It took into consideration neither the interest nor the will of the peoples under the governments which it was setting up and proposed to maintain. After it had lived a few years, it became a by-word of reproach. Its example has been used to show the impractical and short life of the League of Nations which we propose. The difference between the Holy Alliance and our League is in the purpose and principle of its formation. Our League looks to a union of the democratic nations of the world, to the will of the peoples, expressed through their governments, as its basis and sanction. It looks to the establishment of new governments by popular choice and control. It is to be founded on justice, impartially administered, and not on the interests of Kings or Emperors or dynasties. It is to rise as a structure built upon the ashes of militarism, and it is to rest on the pillars of justice and equality and the welfare of peoples.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REARRANGING THE MAP OF EUROPE

I HAVE referred to the Holy Alliance not only to answer an argument, but also as a precedent to prove that a treaty of peace, rearranging the map of Europe, cannot be made without a League of Nations. Think of what this present peace has to compass. We can realize it by considering the points of President Wilson's message of January 8th, which make an outline of the terms of peace which are to be fixed.

In the first place, we are to have some disposition of the German colonies, in accord with the interests of the people who live in them. Germany has made such cruel despotisms of her colonies that it is quite likely the Allies will insist that they shall be put under some other Power more to be trusted in securing the welfare of backward peoples.

Thus we are to set up a new government in East and West Africa, in Australasia, in China, and in some of the islands of the Pacific. Then we are to deal with Russia. If we separate from her the Ukraine and the Baltic Provinces and Finland, there are three or four new nations to establish. Great Russia is now under the domination of bloody anarchists, and we must free her and give to her good people the opportunity to organize and establish a free and useful government. This is a problem of the utmost complexity. In Austria we are to create a nation of the Czecho-Slavs, embracing Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. We are to cut this nation out of the Dual Empire, and take it from Austria and from Hungary. We are to do the same thing with the Jugo-Slavs on the south of Austria and Hungary and establish new boundaries there.

We are to settle the boundaries of the Balkans. We are likely to give Rumania to the Rumanians of Hungary and of Bessarabia. We are to establish a new state of Poland out of the Russian, Austrian and German Poland, and we are to give this estate access to the sea. The fixing of those boundaries and the determination of the method of reaching the sea present issues of the utmost delicacy and difficulty.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We are to determine the status of Constantinople and the small tract now known as Turkey in Europe. We are to fix the limits of Turkey in Asia, to set up a new government in Palestine, to recognize a new government of Arabia, to father, it may be, the creation of a new state in the Caucasus and to establish the freedom of Armenia.

## WHAT WILL BE NECESSARY TO ACCOMPLISH PERMANENT PEACE

THE mere recital of them is most convincing of the intricacy of these problems. The Congress of Nations will probably find it impossible definitely to settle them all. It will have to create commissions, with judicial and conciliatory powers, able to devote time enough to make proper investigation and thus to reach just, defensible and practical conclusions. When the boundaries are all fixed, when the innumerable rights growing out of access to the Baltic, access to the Danube, access to the Black Sea and access to the Aegean, together with rights of way across neighboring states for freedom of trade, are defined, with as much clarity as possible, there still will arise, in the practical operation of the treaty, a multitude of irritating questions of interpretation.

In fixing boundaries on distinctions of race and language, the Congress will encounter the obstruction of racial prejudice and blindness to reasonable conclusions. Neither line of race nor of language is always clearly drawn so that convenient and compact states may be established within them. To attempt in a great world agreement to settle the boundaries and mutual rights of so many new nations, without providing a tribunal whose decisions are to control, and are to be enforced by the major force of the world, will be to make a treaty that will become a laughing stock.

We know that we have got to rearrange the map of Europe, and, in so far as it is practicable in that arrangement, to follow popular choice of the peoples to be governed. But such a flowing phrase will not settle the difficulty. It is merely a general principle that in its actual application often

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

does not offer a completely satisfactory solution; and after the Congress shall have made the decisions, sore places will be left, local enmities will arise, and if that permanent peace which justifies the war is to be obtained, the world compact must itself contain the machinery for settlement of such inevitable disputes.

In other words, we don't have to argue in favor of a League to Enforce Peace—the nations which enter this Congress cannot do otherwise than establish it. It faces them as the only possible way to achieve their object.

### JUDGMENTS MUST BE CARRIED OUT BY FORCE, IF NECESSARY

GERMANY and Austria and Bulgaria and Turkey are to indemnify the countries which they have outraged and devastated. Commissions must be created, judicial in their nature, to pass upon what the amount of the indemnity shall be, and then an international force must exist to levy execution if necessary for the judgment upon the countries whose criminal torts are to be indemnified. We must, therefore, no only have, as a result of the Congress, the machinery of justice and conciliation, but we must retain a combined military force of the Allies and victors to see to it that these just judgments are carried out.

Moreover, the Congress cannot meet without enlarging the scope of international law and making more definite its provisions. The very functions which the Congress is to exercise in fixing the terms of peace will necessitate a statement of the principles upon which it has been guided. That will lead to a broadening of the scope of existing principles of international law and a greater variety in their applications. Therefore, whether those who are in the Congress wish it or not, they cannot solve the problems which are set before them without adopting the principles of our League to Enforce Peace in its four planks in our platform—a court, a Commission of Conciliation, enforcement of submission, and a Legislative International Congress to make International Law.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

They will have to create such machinery for the administration and enforcement of the treaty as to the Central Powers, the new nations created, and Russia. Having gone so far, as they must, can they fail to extend their work only a little to include the settlement of all future differences between all the nations that are parties to the League? A League for such future purposes will be no more difficult to make and maintain than the League into which they are driven by the necessities of the situation. The stars in their course have been fighting for the achievement of our purpose and the foundation of this League, and the doubters may not escape it.

### ARGUMENTS THAT ARE SET UP AGAINST A LEAGUE

NOW I want to take up some of the arguments made against the League. In the first place, a good many have created a straw League and have knocked it down without difficulty. They have attributed to us the views and principles held by extremists, who perhaps support our League, but whose extreme views we don't adopt or need to adopt. Thus it is said that we favor internationalism, that we are opposed to nationalism, that we wish to dilute the patriotic spirit into a vague universal brotherhood. That there are socialists and others who entertain this view, and who perhaps support the League to Enforce Peace, may be true, but the assumption that such views are necessary to a consistent support of the League is entirely without warrant.

I believe in nationalism and patriotism, as distinguished from universal brotherhood, as firmly as any one can. I believe that the national spirit and the patriotic love of country are as essential in the progress of the world as the family and the love of family are essential in domestic communities. But as the family and the love of family are not inconsistent with the love of country, but only strengthen it, so a proper, pure and patriotic nationalism stimulates a sense of international justice and does not detract in any way from the spirit of universal brotherhood.

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Again it is said that in the League we injure nationalism by abridging the sovereignty of our country in that we are to yield to an international council or an international tribunal, in which we only have one representative, the decision of questions of justice and of national policy. Sovereignty is a matter of definition. The League does not contemplate the slightest interference with the internal government of any country. The League does not propose to interfere, except where the claims of right of one country clash with the claims of right of another. To submit such claims of right to an impartial tribunal no more interferes with the sovereignty of a nation than the submission of an individual to a hearing and decree of court interferes with his liberty. The League is merely introducing into the world's sphere liberty of action regulated by law, instead of license uncontrolled except by the greed and passion of the individual nation.

### THE RIGHT TO DECLARE WAR AND ARMAMENT QUESTIONS

IT is said that we are giving up our right to make war or to withhold from making it. We cannot take away from our Congress the right to declare war, and no one would wish to do so. But that is no reason why we should not enter into an agreement to defend the impartial judgments of the League and to repress palpable violations of its covenants by those who have entered it. The question must always be for the decision of Congress whether our obligations under the League require us in honor to make war. We have guaranteed the integrity of Cuba, we have guaranteed the integrity of Panama. Does that deprive us of sovereignty? Yet we are under an obligation to make war if another country attacks them.

Then the question is as to disarmament. The fourth of the President's fourteen points contains the provision that adequate guaranties must be given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

That represents an aim and aspiration, but it cannot

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have immediate and practical operation. We are the victors in this war which grew out of the extensive armament and military power of Germany. It will be a legitimate condition of peace exacted by the victors that Germany shall substantially disarm and leave the Allied Powers in a position with armament sufficient to keep Germany within law and right. How far disarmament can be carried must be determined by experience. Disarmament will be accomplished effectively in great measure by the economic pressure that will be felt intensely by all nations after this war, secondly by such mutual covenants and general supervision of an international council as experience may dictate, and third and ultimately by a sense of security in the successful operation of this League to Enforce Peace. For the time being the people who are afraid that the United States will make itself helpless to defend its rights against unjust aggression are unduly exercised.

Any practical League of Nations will require the United States to maintain a potential military force sufficient to comply promptly with its obligations to contribute to an international army whenever called upon for League purposes. Such obligation may well be made the basis and the reason for universal training of youth, in accord with the Australian or the Swiss system—a system that trains youth for a year physically and mentally and gives them a proper sense of duty and obligation to the state.

### SHALL GERMANY BE ACCEPTED IN THE LEAGUE?

THERE may be a difference of opinion as to whether we should have such a system, but there is nothing in the League to Enforce Peace and its principles which prevents its adoption, and either that or some other means of maintaining an adequate force to discharge our obligations under a League must be found. While we should lay broad the foundations for a League looking as far into the future as we may, we must trust to the future to work out the application of those principles, to amend the details of our ma-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chinery and to adapt it to the lessons of experience. We know that the real hope of reducing armament and keeping it down is the maintenance of a League which shall insure justice and apply in its aid the major force of the world. As the operation of that League is more and more acquiesced in, the possibility of the safe reduction of armaments in all countries will become apparent to all and will be realized.

Another question that has agitated a good many people is whether we should let Germany into the League. That depends upon whether Germany makes herself fit for the League. If she gets rid of the Hohenzollerns, if she establishes a real popular government, if she shows by her national policies that she has acted on the lessons which the war should teach her, indeed if she brings forth works meet for repentance, then of course we ought to admit her and encourage her by putting her on an equality with other nations and by using her influence and her power to make the League more effective. The long drawn out payment of indemnities will keep her in a chastened condition and will keep alive in her mind the evils of militarism.

I don't now discuss the difference in the obligations of the members of such a League as between the great Powers and the lesser Powers. All should have a voice in the general policy of the League, but it is well worthy of consideration whether with the burden of enforcing the obligations of the League by military force which the greater Powers must carry they should not have larger voice in executive control. As they are the only ones likely to be able to create the major force of the world, they may reasonably claim a right to more administrative power.

### THE RIGHTS OF THE SMALLER NATIONS

THE rights of the smaller nations will be protected in the Congress in which they have a full voice, and by the impartial judgments of the judicial tribunals and the recommendations of the Commission of Conciliation. There is not the slightest likelihood that the mere executive control

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by the larger Powers would lead to oppression of the smaller Powers, because should selfishness disclose itself in one of the great Powers, we could be confident of the wish of the other great Powers to repress it.

One of the difficulties in the maintenance of a League of all nations will be the instability of the governments of its members if the League embraces all nations. On the whole, the greater Powers are the more stable and the more responsible. It is well therefore that upon them shall fall the chief executive responsibility. While the principles of the League would prevent interference with the internal governments as a general rule, the utter instability of a government might authorize an attempt to stabilize it.

The possibilities of many sided world benefit from a League after it is well established and is working smoothly, it is hard to overestimate. For the present, as the result of this Congress of Nations to meet and settle the terms of peace, we may well be content to have a League established on broad lines, with principles firmly and clearly stated, and with constructive provisions for amendment as experience shall indicate their necessity. I verily believe we are in sight of the Promised Land. I hope we may not be denied its enjoyment.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE GROWING MENACE OF THE I. W. W.

## "Underground" Methods for "Taking Possession of the Earth"

By LYNN FORD

THE average citizen doubtless looked upon the conviction of William D. Haywood, and ninety-two other officers and members of the Industrial Workers of the World, for conspiracy to hamper the Government in the prosecution of the war, as the end of that organization.

But this was the mildest sort of homeopathic treatment for the cancerous growth of the I. W. W. Only the keen knife of Government surgery to absolutely remove it can stop its malignant growth.

The exact effect of the conviction of these ninety-three members is best portrayed in one of the I. W. W. organs, "The New Solidarity," which, as "Solidarity," was suppressed some time ago but erupted anew after the signing of the armistice. Referring to these convictions, in the first issue under its so slightly camouflaged title, the "New Solidarity" printed:

> "The greatest blessing (if the term can be used) was that an acquittal did not follow the ending of the Chicago trials; for it is possible that had an acquittal followed, a conservative policy may have been adopted, carrying with it too much dependence and reliance on the courts of America, and would necessarily have had a tendency to stifle, for the time at least, the real revolutionary thought of the workers."

Government officers have estimated the maximum membership of the I. W. W. as never above 50,000 at any one time, but more than 200,000 membership cards have been issued and the work of increasing the membership is going on steadily today by means that, according to letters that have been found, do not stop this side of "bumping" the



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man who refuses to join. The phrase "bumping" seems innocent enough to the uninitiated, but when it is understood that it means only one thing—murder—it throws a stronger light on the feverish activities today of these people whose one object is, according to their own preamble, "to take possession of the earth."

The resolution presented in November by the Mexican delegates to the Pan-American Labor Conference, aiming at the release from prison of the convicted Industrial Workers of the World, was evidence that the friends of this organization are alert. The adoption of resolutions by socialists calling upon the President to release all "political prisoners" convicted under the espionage act, indicates that ere long there will be a concerted effort to achieve this end.

The right of the I. W. W. to organize in time of peace was not in the least affected by the conviction of their leaders for acts committed during the war. Several states have enacted laws designed to prevent the teaching of syndicalism and sabotage but they have yet to prove themselves effective.

The leaders of the I. W. W. considered the possibilities of legal barriers aimed to prevent their openly organizing. During the cross examination of Wm. D. Haywood, at his trial in Chicago, a letter written by him was introduced, commenting on a suggestion that in case of government interference headquarters be established in Canada or Mexico. "I think the underground route will be better," he wrote.

Questioned by the Government prosecutor, Haywood's replies were as follows:

> Q. "What is the 'underground route'?"
> Ans. "Well, the underground route is organizing underground."
> Q. "Secretly?"
> Ans. "Secretly, yes."
> Q. "So that the government would not know what you were doing?"
> Ans. "So that there would not be anyone excepting the workers themselves——"
> Q. "And on Aug. 24, 1917, it was your thought that the underground route, this secret route of carrying on your organization would be better? Doing it right here in Chicago instead of going to Old Mexico or Canada?"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ans. "Yes."
Q. "But to do it underground."
Ans. "Yes, sir."
Q. (Quoting letter) "'In fact, to tell you the truth, we have already taken steps, and are now perfecting the same, to run the affairs of the organization via the U. G. route if it becomes necessary.' Had you done so?"
Ans. "Yes, sir, I think so."
Q. "Had taken precautions at headquarters and throughout the organization——"
Ans. "We were making some steps toward that end."

This course means the continuation in the United States of a revolutionary organization working secretly for the overthrow of the government.

A part of the "Preamble," or statement, of I. W. W. principles reads as follows:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among the millions of working people and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

"Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work,' we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wage system.'

"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every day struggle with capitalists, but to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

### THE I. W. W. KNOWS NO RIGHT AND WRONG

THE history of the organization shows that at one time there was an expressed intent to make partial use of political means to achieve their ends. This point became an issue between the radical and conservative groups and the "direct actionists" under the leadership of Haywood won. All reference to political action was eliminated and with this revolutionary principle of "direct action" as a premise the organization was built.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The methods of the organization are thus set forth by their historian:

> "As a revolutionary organization the Industrial Workers of the World aims to use any and all tactics that will get the results sought with the least expenditure of time and energy. The tactics used are determined solely by the power of the organization to make good in their use. The question of 'right' and 'wrong' does not concern us."

The I. W. W. from its inception has been a lawless organization, an organization that is a law unto itself.

"An injury to one is an injury to all" is the I. W. W. motto. In the record of the organization there is no evidence that any member was ever expelled for the commission of crime, although hundreds have been convicted on charges varying from vagrancy to murder. Defense funds are continually being raised for the support of members charged with offenses against the criminal statutes. This attitude results in the recruiting of many members who find it advantageous to have the support of an organization that does not desert them when they come in conflict with the law.

Members are taught to regard as martyrs all of their number convicted of crime. They have endeavored to canonize members who have been executed for murder or who have fallen in open conflict with the authorities.

While the I. W. W. has operated from time to time in the East, as at Lawrence and Paterson during the strikes of the textile workers, it is west of the Mississippi that it is best known. British Columbia and Mexico have also offered a fertile field.

One of the largest and most influential branches of the I. W. W. has been the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union. Its membership is enrolled from migratory laborers in the harvest fields of the West. The character of the recruits in this division is typical of that in other branches and will best serve for illustrative purposes.

The problem of labor in the harvest fields is one of which the East knows but little. In the Middle West it is a constantly recurring source of difficulty. The demand begins early in the summer in the more southerly states, cur-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rent wages almost invariably rise and there is an influx of migratory labor. The demand for help on the farms is urgent. The laborers move northward with the ripening of the grain. They are recruited from the most unstable class of manual laborers, and usually are obliged to work long hours with inadequate provision, if any, for their housing. They "beat their way" on freight trains from one place to another on the chance of finding work in competition with their fellows. Between jobs they live in "jungle camps" on the outskirts of the smaller towns in the farming communities. These men are regarded as a necessary evil to be used and gotten rid of as soon as possible. In the winter months many of them seek work in the lumber camps.

### TOLD TO TAKE POSSESSION OF THE EARTH

HERE is a social element which the I. W. W. organizer finds willing to listen to his teachings. The doctrine of syndicalism which they preach is admirably adapted to appeal to these homeless drifters. They do not urge "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work," but council their members to "take possession of the earth——." They maintain also that the law is a thing to be flouted as it is designed to keep them in the mire. The officers are the "hirelings of the capitalists" and their natural enemies. They are told that every employer, no matter how humble, is their enemy and that sabotage is their weapon to be used, wherever possible, to break him.

In considering the future of the I. W. W. there are two distinct elements to keep in mind. One the migratory worker just discussed, a class made up largely of men American born of both native and foreign parentage.

The other, the foreign born laborer who has come to this country, settled in a locality among his fellow countrymen and engaged in the occupation responsible for their colonization. This class depending upon their native tongue, often without opportunity or incentive to learn our language and customs, remain distressingly ignorant. They are open

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to exploitation in many ways, and are almost wholly without understanding of the possibilities which our society offers. There are hundreds of thousands of such foreigners in thousands of colonies in this country.

These make a favorite field for the I. W. W. organizer. Many of the same conditions which make the migratory worker susceptible to agitation are present here. The open organization work has practically ceased for the present; but the methods used up to the time of the government's action will be used again.

### ADVISE "BUMPING," WHICH MEANS MURDER

DURING the Chicago trial it was shown that the I. W. W. organizers include a large percentage of unnaturalized foreigners. These men, sometimes under pay from the parent organization and sometimes remunerated by the various branches, travel about the country seeking localities in which laborers of their own nationality are employed.

When they find any considerable group thus engaged they begin the work of agitation among them. If this prospers, headquarters are opened and from the initiation fees, dues and the sale of literature, the "local" becomes self-supporting and, in many instances, there is a surplus which goes to swell the fund of the parent organization.

Often, when members started to proselyte, intimidation became an instrument. It being the custom for the shifting laborers to ride the freight trains, militant exponents of I. W. W.ism found it an easy matter to go over the trains and coerce the men into joining. The following letter, which was sent by one of the members to the secretary of his branch, is indicative of the method used:

> "Well, James, we had a real fast time coming here from Minot last night with the Sissors (laborers not I. W. W.'s). We unloaded eleven of them and beat up one fellow worker for knocking Haywood and calling him a grafter to a bunch of natives which was proven by two fellow workers who overheard the conversation. So we used direct action on him and I think he will perhaps receive some more drastic action in the future. Send all live wires this way immediately, as

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they are badly needed here this fall. It seems as if we are the first to come from the West, and we sure are making a showing. Well, Jim, you should have been with us. We sure had some time coming. We did not leave anything half done. We considered ourselves as the Flying Squadron and took a clean sweep. We unloaded everyone that did not have the necessary red card and direct action was the pass word, and we made a clean sweep, and we made some time, too. We caught up to one scab and he spoke to me and called me by name, and wss trying to explain where he saw me and I walloped him and knocked him off the top of a box car. He hit the grit at about a 25-mile clip. His name I think is West, but it doesn't matter. He was lying on the ground when we went around the curve, so I hope him all the future luck that he may find in North Dakota. I also lined up a fellow by the name of Shelly Mosely. He said that he had just come from Spokane. Do you know if he done any scabbing anywhere? If so let me know; I will get the card. I have got his money and if he scabbed, I will give him a receipt for it, because I am going to get revenge on some of these scabs. Say, Jim, do you know if that is so about Frank Little in Butte? We have our doubts about it, but if it is so, we should get all the damn stools that we come in contact with from now on. That is, I mean to get them is to bump (murder) them."

As a coordinate branch of the I. W. W. organization a publishing bureau is maintained at the Chicago headquarters. Since the government raids it has been somewhat restricted in output, devoting the greater part of its activity to defense literature, designed to raise funds for the members being prosecuted by the government.

### PALLIATIVE MEASURES WILL NOT DESTROY THE I. W. W.

FORMERLY two weekly papers in English were published: "Solidarity" in Chicago and the "Industrial Worker" in Seattle. A staff of foreign editors was engaged at the Chicago headquarters in supervising the publication of propagandist newspapers in Italian, Lithuanian, Yiddish, Hungarian, Polish, Portuguese, Bulgarian, Russian, Spanish, Slavonian, Swedish and Norwegian. These were filled with articles designed to arouse hostility to the government and to implant distrust of our institutions and faith in our society in the minds of the foreign workmen. These papers all enjoyed the second-class mailing privilege

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

until long after the declaration of war. They were circulated in the foreign settlements and served as an effective medium in the hands of the foreign organizers.

Palliative measures will not be effective in disposing of I. W. W.ism. The root lies too deep. Social "remedies" for the unrest which makes men prey to radical agitation may be reserved for discussion by those who deal in cure-alls. Certain it is that if the drifting laborer is to be estranged from these radical teachings we must secure some more comprehensive and rational handling of the migratory labor problem. To permit this to go on in the haphazard fashion which has characterized it in the past is to insure the future of the I. W. W.

The urgent demand for this class of labor will continue so long as there are crops to harvest, raw materials to be handled and constructive work accomplished incidental to the upbuilding of great stretches of our country. In the West labor undirected often drifts aimlessly. It is not available when wanted or in periods of economic instability it is forced into competition which results in reduced wages and even greater uncertainty of employment than that which ordinarily characterizes it.

The "hire and fire" system must give way to proper and effective supervision of working and living conditions and the transportation and distribution of labor if we are to lessen the dissatisfaction which has resulted in making the migratory laborer willing to embrace the revolutionary propaganda of the I. W. W.

## BOLSHEVISM AND I. W. W. ARE THE SAME

THE continuation of I. W. W.ism among the foreign population of the United States has become in the light of recent events a subject of international aspect. Officers of the I. W. W. and foreign correspondents have stated that former members of the organization are high in the councils of the present Russian régime.

Many of the leading spirits of the Soviet Government

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are men who have lived in the United States and they are familiar with the open and underground channels whereby radical organizations can be fostered in this country. In Germany, Switzerland, Sweden and other countries representatives of the Bolshevik are reported to be busily engaged in spreading their propaganda. These agents are reported to be well supplied with funds and their activities have been a matter for boastful comment. The Bolshevik leaders consider the propagation of worldwide revolution as essential to their future security.

Sympathizers in this country have recently united in urging the recognition of the Soviet Government by the United States. The fact that many of these advocates have been open in their opposition to everything, regarded as essential in making our participation in the war effective, is sufficient to arouse suspicion as to their purpose in this. Certainly with freedom of egress from Russia established numerous agitators may be expected. There are thousands of supporters here who can be depended upon to carry on agitation whether or not agents are sent directly from Russia. Funds can be transmitted secretly. That the I. W. W. will prove a ready instrumentality here there can be little doubt.

Let there be no misunderstanding of the fact that the worst of Bolshevism and I. W. W.ism are identical. It will be largely to the foreigner speaking an alien tongue that the appeal will be made. We have been remiss in devising effective means and urging the education of the aliens among us. The need has been made plain in many ways but in none having a more vital bearing upon our security than the readiness with which this element of our population embraces the teaching of the I. W. W.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE WAR'S INFLUENCE ON ART

*An Interview with*

## HERBERT ADAMS

[PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN]

*For The Forum*

THE artist always reflects his time. He is as much "the brief abstract and chronicle of the time" as the player or the poet. I believe this war has proven a great inspiration to the American artist. I believe it has made the whole craft more sincere in its aims. I believe it will stop a lot of groping, a lot of striving after false gods; if one can dignify such new emotions as have sprung up within the last decade or so by such a title. I believe we are going to have something fresh; if not absolutely new, to say. We are after all the creature of our period. "The spirit of the time shall give us speed." And the spirit of this great new time will give us new expression.

It were an axiom too trite for repetition did it not smack of the eternal verities, that history repeats itself. I believe that history is about to repeat itself again in art. There is going to be a renascence of motive, of theme, of expression. The man with the genuine soul of the artist in him is hovering on the borders of a new order of inspiration. It may not appear fully to this generation of us. But it is positive. For it must be so. All great periods of art have been but the expression of their time. Art has come after the event. Not its avatar, but its fulfiller. Not its prophet, but its final concrete message.

The greatest movements in art from the very beginning of the world have faithfully followed just such world movements as we are now passing through. The exquisite art of the Persians was followed by the marvelous and still compelling broader art-spirit of the Greeks, when they had thrown off the shadow of the dominion of Cyrus the Great.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FIGHT FOR LIBERTY—ART'S CRADLE

IT was the Greeks, fighting for world-liberty as we are fighting now, who gave us the splendid ideals which we can never forsake; the might and glory of the human form, to say nothing of those monuments wherein it was enshrined; the Parthenon and the minor temples of Athens. The world waited again for centuries till wars were old; till the last human passion seemed to have been exhausted in the elemental struggle, the unceasing strife that typifies human existence; and again art was born anew. I refer of course to the Italian Renaissance. This was the fruit of a great religious awakening.

The first trend of the revival which is pending as the result of this new upheaval of peoples, *should* manifest itself here in the development of a sound industrial art. We have never had enough art here in America. We do not as a nation understand it. We have been too busy with more apparently fundamental things. Then let us begin here and now. Considering all things that contribute to the real progress of a new formation of human character; looking at matters from a purely material standpoint; it is imperative that every step possible be taken to nourish the artist-artisan.

This is the very foundation of all taste for the beautiful as expressed in the concrete. Heretofore it has been an easy matter to get designers, skilled artisans, masters of their craft from abroad. But these men have given their lives, their souls, in this great struggle. They have flung everything aside in the effort to save home and country. It remains for us as the conservators; the guardians; to perpetuate their work. Our manufacturers have felt this pinch direfully, and if we are going to not only compete with, but continue the taste and skill of our models; if we are going to perpetuate and express in our everyday lives the benison they have bestowed upon us; we have got to make a genuine effort.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

### MUST NOT FORGET THE ARTS OF PEACE

WE must build and foster the industrial art-school. We must realize that in the truest sense the arts of peace are as great as the arts of war. "The glory that was Greece, the grandeur that was Rome" can never be ours till we seriously understand these things. The talent is here; it is inherent among us: it goes begging in our streets. We shall never be the nation that God intended us to be till we develop it among ourselves. The greatest emphasis of the fact that we must have a fundamental industrial art: for without art as without vision, the people perish; is that we cannot depend on it from abroad any longer.

Our day as a people has come, has been given to us, to take our place in the van of civilization; and how can we hope for so much as a true beginning without a genuine foundation? What can and must uphold our thought but a genuine knowledge and expression of that sincerity which in all ages has governed mankind; and which in its esthetic expression no matter how common, has been the moulding and the guiding principle of humanity?

So far as this immediate war is concerned we artists of America have not learned so much from it at first hand as might have been our mission. Not for record, not for propaganda, but for the influence on the art of the future. For the artist is a persistent spirit: he belongs in the category of genius: he cannot be denied. Of course I speak as a partisan; but I must say that I think we should, considering the tremendous magnitude of the contest and its natural consequences have had something like an adequate representation "over there."

### MUST WE LOOK TO THE FRENCH FOR REAL WAR ART?

IT may be that with this unforgettable and almost unforgivable drawback we may produce a first-hand war-artist worthy of the great cause for which we have so wonderfully fought as a people. The French are closer to the scene.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And their artists have gone into the trenches to a man—as all their men of genius have done. Must we look for a new Detaille, a new De Neuville, amongst them? Perhaps some true American of genius may come scrambling out of those trenches and give us our stir.

This war has, I repeat, been a great inspiration to the American artist as a whole. It has illuminated and uplifted us as a class. Has taught us to look anew at the serious side of life. And this effect will be cumulative and lasting. One of its most striking results is that it has brought to the front a class of men who have never been popular before. The public had never for instance given a full measure of credit to the poster-man and the illustrator. Their powers have been limited to a narrow range. They have never been called on to go much beyond the depiction in her younger and prettier phases of the "eternal feminine," especially the illustrator. They are now going to try to take an interest in heroic figures, perhaps, typifying industry; and the more serious aspects of life—the artistic quality that can be found in shapes of men wielding sledges, building bridges, doing the real work of man.

America in art has absorbed all the sugar she needs. She is going to get the rye bread and the cold meat now for awhile. We have never accepted the forceful way in which Europeans, especially the French, make pictures. Their art seems to us to be crude. The French have realized before we have done the artistic possibilities in what we have been calling the "ugly"—something we have always been trying to smother somehow in our delineations of the life about us. So our artists have been getting a training they are now beginning to realize.

### WAR HAS GIVEN OUR ARTISTS A HIGHER IDEAL

AGAIN, the poster-man had been largely employed in advertising effort: drawing motor trucks, ladies' hosiery, canned food, vegetables, and the like. While his best work has been art, and sometimes art of a very fine grade, it has

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

never had any general recognition on that plane; because he worked for commercial ends. The war has put the craft of the poster-man on a higher plane, has lifted him to a place where he has had the opportunity of his best powers. It has brought to the front and given international reputation even to several men like C. B. Falls, Forrester and Adolf Kriedler. And the war has taken the whole business of dictating poster-art out of the hands of the lithographing firms. Formerly they ruled the draughtsman; he worked only according to their plans. Now they will listen to him. The war has given him a definite standing as a man of an acknowledgable craft.

Again, take the case of the cartoonist. He has hitherto been accepted only locally in a few instances nationally; as in the case of men like Rollin Kirby, Winsor McCay, W. A. Rogers, and Tom Powers. Now the cartoonist will have a chance to deal with the broader field of international politics. He will "chum up with" and caricature kings and great men of other countries as well as the last Tammany candidate. With broadened opportunities he will develop a finer responsiveness to his metier. He will deal with a wider humanity.

What I have said about the poster-man and the cartoonist is equally true of the illustrator, to speak of those grades of art which appeal more directly to the masses. The publisher, especially the magazine publisher, has heretofore required from him a certain type of work, largely based on love-making in its various phases. The American girl in all her varying types of loveliness, and her "young man" in all his variety, have been the favorite theme. The illustrator has usually been called on when handed out a story for illustration to pick out scenes in which the love-making was prominent. But from now on there is a very great possibility the publisher will insist on a more serious, a more workaday point of view.

The conventional notion of the artist is that he is a more or less shiftless person with very little business faculty. This war has shown him to have a good deal more common

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sense than he is generally given credit for. He has proven great capacity as an organizer, and as a steady producing unit upholding his branch of the war work splendidly. The moral effect of this getting of artists together, of organizing them for war work, will be lasting in its good to the whole fraternity when the war is done. The artist will be far more gregarious with his kind than he ever was before in America—something our own art has greatly needed. As a final word I might say that the artist has profited financially far less by this war than any man of any other trade, craft or profession. He has, as the records will show, literally almost, taken his pay in patriotism. His reward is to come.

# DREAMERS OVERSEAS

By DAVID MORTON

ONE will remember, after lightless days,
The slanting sunlight, how it touched his hill,
The purple, drifted dusk, come sweet and still
Above his fields and wagon-rutted ways;
And one, the pasture where his cattle graze,
And one the little Town, all tender grown
In every tree-lined street and paving-stone,
The men at market and the passing drays.

So dear the vision comes they scarce can think
How all of this shall yet be theirs again,
The quiet things of quiet-hearted men;—
These be the cups in secret that they drink:
The white road curving where the fields are brown,
The gleaming streets, the clean and comely Town.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# PREVENTING FUTURE WARS

## A Plan for Co-operative World Organization

By DR. CHARLES R. VAN HISE, LL.D.
[PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN]

IF, when the terms of peace have been concluded, some way has not been worked out so that gigantic wars will not recur, we shall be obliged to conclude that the human being has not traveled sufficiently far along the road of rationalism to learn even by the most bitter and costly experience.

To prevent the recurrence of great wars there is the proposal for a League of Free Nations. This League must be created as an integral part of the terms of peace. The President of the United States and the Premier of Great Britain are definitely committed to it. High officials of France, Italy and Japan have expressed warm sympathy with the idea of the League.

This is the golden opportunity, *today*. If the principle be allowed to slip away and each of the Allied nations again devotes itself exclusively to its own interests, it will then be very difficult to form an effective organization for safeguarding the world's peace. Today when the Allied nations are acting together in all that relates to the terms of peace is the time that they are most likely to agree upon obligations to prevent the recurrence of wars.

As Americans, it is important to consider the obligations that our participance in such an association would bring upon us. They are great. But if we shirk the responsibility, it is inevitable that some time in the future we will again be obliged to intervene in a war for which we are in no way responsible and the initiation of which we had no means to control.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Because of the intimate international relations, now existent, if a world conflagration again starts, it is almost inevitable that we shall be drawn into it precisely as we were into this. With the end of this war, the great nations involved find themselves with mighty armaments upon land and sea. They have maintained these armaments by borrowing enormous sums of money. With the termination of the war, the current expenses for any country must be reduced to the income derived from taxation. That income must in addition provide for the interest upon the colossal war debt, and if possible some increment toward liquidation.

### ARMAMENTS MUST BE REDUCED

IT is clear that armaments as they existed at the end of the war cannot be maintained. They must be reduced, however jingoistic a nation may be. It is obvious that it cannot be proposed that armaments shall be equal for all nations. It cannot be suggested that Liberia and Great Britain shall have armies and navies of the same size. The reduced armaments should be proportioned to the importance and power of the nations.

As a first approximation toward this, the disarmament should be proportioned, and disarmament under this principle should be carried as far as possible. To illustrate, for the navies: Great Britain, at the end of the war, has a fleet upon the sea substantially three times that at the beginning of the war. To maintain a fleet in times of peace is almost as expensive as during war. The men must be paid; the ships kept in repair.

The British sea-going fleet should be reduced to, say, one-third, one-tenth or any other fraction which may be decided upon of the power of the fleet at the end of the war. The reduction should apply, so far as practicable, to each class of ships. In regard to the ships which are put out of commission, the guns would be dismantled and the ships placed at anchor in the harbors. In case of necessity they would be available rapidly. The proportion agreed upon

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would apply to the United States and to all other members of the League.

The proportional reduction of armies is not so easy to illustrate in simple terms, but the principle of armaments in proportion to power and influence should be applied so far as practicable.

It is to be noted under the principle of proportional disarmament that each nation would have the same relative power that it possessed before such action. I am glad to be able to state that Lloyd George supports the principle of proportional disarmament.

Who are to be our associates in the League? In the majority of proposals which have been made it has been provided that all the free nations that desire to enter a League may do so. A League thus formed would consist of many nations. Recognizing the very great difference in the strength and influence of the members of such a group of nations, various schemes have been suggested for proportional influence. All these schemes present insuperable difficulties because of the pride of nations of intermediate power and influence. These nations would claim as their right the same position as the first-class Powers.

### WHO TO COMPOSE THE LEAGUE?

TO form a League of Nations which shall at the outset include all the free nations that wish to enter is inadvisable. The League should at first consist of the free nations which have borne to the end the larger part of the burden of this war against autocracy, viz: the United States, England, France, Italy and Japan. The organization of such a League, even if it included no other nation, would go far toward ensuring the future security of the world. Even covenants of the English-speaking peoples would be a mighty influence in that direction.

If the League of Free Nations is first limited to the five Powers named, the difficulties in regard to representation are overcome. They will have equal representation. The difficulties of disarmament are largely overcome. These na-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions have acted together; their interests are common; they are in sympathy. They will work out a plan under the general principle of proportioned disarmament, maintaining in the aggregate a power sufficient to secure the peace of the world. The League of the five nations once formed, other nations would be admitted under the constitution of the League, and they would have the rights and powers given them under that constitution.

A question which immediately arises is: Shall Germany, which country is already committed to the principle of a League, be admitted under the terms of its constitution? As soon as the German people have shown that they are a free people, wholly independent of autocracy, have completely abandoned the evil doctrine of Might and are ready to support the existence of a moral order in the world, Germany should become a member of the League of Free Nations. This would mean that Germany, once admitted to the League, in the matter of armaments as well as others should be treated upon the same basis as the other five Powers. But there should be the strictest guarantees that the agreements should not be surreptitiously disregarded. If Germany is allowed to unduly expand her armies, this will start again in the world the race for enormous armaments.

Another question that arises in connection with the admission of Germany to the League is the economic treatment of the Central Powers after the war. In this matter there are two phases, that of reconstruction and that of a permanent policy following reconstruction. It is possible, indeed probable, that during the period of reconstruction there will be a shortage of essential materials.

### NO UNFAIR PRACTICES IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE

DURING this period the needs of the Allies must have preference, since the restoration of Belgium, France and Siberia has been made necessary in large measure because of the ruthless and unlawful acts of the Central Powers.

Following the reconstruction period, when the world

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has assumed its normal condition, the Central Powers should be placed upon precisely the same economic basis as are other nations. Each nation, with regard to tariff and similar policies, will retain its own autonomy; but the League of Nations must see that no nation within the League which has equal treatment with regard to raw materials shall pursue unfair practices in international trade. In short, unfair practices in international trade, illustrated by dumping, must be outlawed, precisely as are unfair practices in national trade. In this respect Germany has been an offender in the past, and only when she reforms completely shall she have the same treatment as other nations with regard to raw materials.

We should be implacable in imposing upon Germany, to the utmost limit she is able to bear them, the full penalties for all actions which she has taken contrary to international law. When peace has been concluded, the sanctity of international law must be re-established. The small nations which have been outraged contrary to international law, so far as possible, must be reimbursed for all the wrongs they have suffered. This position is not taken with the idea of revenge, but from the point of view of justice and the necessity of convincing every German that all violations of international law will carry their inexorable penalties.

The penalty upon Germany having been exacted, the past should be eliminated from further consideration and a course of justice pursued. Only so can there be permanent peace in the world. It cannot be denied that the Germans are a great people, and that if permanently kept out of a League of Nations Germany will be the center of another group of nations. In that event, we would return to the old balance of power between the League of Free Nations and another League of Nations led by Germany. There can be no permanent peace which does not include finally all the great nations of the world in the League of Free Nations.

But we want to know just what responsibilities our obligations in a League will entail upon us; what benefits in turn will be derived. Briefly, how the League will curb war.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW WAR WILL BE CURBED

ALL the proposals that I have seen concerning the League provide for a separation of cases arising between the members of the League into two classes—justiciable and non-justiciable. All agree that justiciable cases should go to a regularly constituted court, either the existing Hague court or a new court formed directly under the League.

For the non-justiciable cases it is agreed that for a difference between two nations which they themselves are unable to settle they shall not go to war with each other until the members of the League have considered the dispute. The grounds of difference will be investigated and recommendations made for settlement by the League. The thought comes that the body created by the direct representatives of the nations in the League would be too cumbersome to handle quickly and deftly the questions of *casus belli* submitted for its consideration. This great body should control policies, but it should create instruments and agents to carry out these policies. The actual work of executing the spirit of these policies as applied to disputes between nations should be done by these instruments and agents. The investigation of any *casus belli* would thus be made by a commission appointed by non-interested members of the League and its recommendation should be final. To require that the recommendations of a tribunal should be unanimous, or after their consideration by the members of the League the League itself shall be unanimous, as has been seriously proposed, would be a decision at the outset to make the League of Nations futile. Warning us against the principle of unanimity, there is the case of the Nobles of Poland, who acted under it with calamitous consequences to that country for more than a century. On the other hand the acceptance by the American people of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, often with a bare majority, upon most momentous questions, some of these between the several states during the early years of the Union, when the states were being cemented into a nation, is conclusive evidence of the soundness of the principle of majority.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But what if a member of the League goes to war, contrary to the recommendation made upon its submitted cause for grievance? What should be the position of the United States concerning such an eventuality that might again confront us with war? How are we of the League to be saved from war?

It has been proposed, indeed strongly urged, by many who are advocating a League of Nations that all members of the League shall bind themselves in such a case to support an attacked state with their armies and navies and also economically. But such a stipulation would automatically hurl us into any war. Better, by far, instead of so pledging its members to strife would it be were the League to agree that any member of it shall be free, if it so desires, to support the attacked state with its army and navy. Let there be that right of decision, but make it obligatory that all members of the League agree absolutely to boycott the offending nation; to have no trade or communication with it in any way whatever, to treat it as an outlaw among the free peoples of the world.

So dependent are nations upon one another in these days of instantaneous communication, rapid transportation, and international commerce, that any nation would be very slow to go to war contrary to recommendations which the League had made upon its case. For to go to war that way would be to go with the certainty that the war would have to be prosecuted entirely upon the attacking nation's own resources, that no help could be in any way derived from any other nation; not only so, but that in relations other than war it will be treated as a leper.

### WHAT OF NATIONS NOT IN THE LEAGUE?

ANOTHER possibility is disputes, bordering upon war, between members of the League and nations not members. In such eventualities, the League should be free to follow the same procedure as if the dispute were between two of its members. That is to say, it should take steps

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the investigation of differences and the making of recommendations. If the nation outside the League attacked a nation within the League before the case was investigated and recommendations made or contrary to the recommendations, then, again, the nations of the League should be free to support their ally with their armies and navies and should be bound to support it by complete boycott of the offending state.

In the case of a controversy between two nations altogether outside the League, probably it is not wise to propose that the League should do more than tender its good offices to settle the difference which threatens war. This offer might not always be accepted, but if it were accepted by one state and not accepted by the other, it is inevitable that the state that was attacked would have at least the moral support and influence of the nations of the League. No war has ever illustrated the mighty power of moral support as has this war which is just being finished.

New states have been created through the disintegration of Russia and will be created by the disintegration of Austria. It will be necessary that these states have a big brother to assist them when necessary until they get on their feet, precisely as the United States served as a big brother for Cuba until she was able to act independently. This is international work. This function should be exercised directly through the League of Free Nations. An organization should be created by it to handle international responsibility in the interests of the world. This will involve the setting up of an appropriate government in each case, the apportioning of the necessary protection and the allocation of the required funds among the members of the League. From time to time, as need arises, a helping hand should be given, but always with the purpose of developing a province exclusively in the interests of its inhabitants, and finally, when the time comes, of establishing self-government. This passage from government by an instrument of the League of Nations to self-government in each case should be the ultimate goal.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ABANDONING OUR ISOLATION

BUT to engage ourselves in a League is a complete abandonment of our traditional policy of isolation. Already in this war, the United States has abandoned the policy of isolation and has acted in practical alliance with the great Powers fighting Germany. It is true that the President has always alluded to the other Powers as our associates in war rather than as our Allies; but in every respect in the conduct of the war the United States has acted precisely as have the other members of the alliance. Indeed the United States has taken leadership in making the alliance stronger and firmer through a common command of the fighting forces, through co-operation in the feeding of the Allies, and through the apportionment of the materials of war.

Even if we had not already abandoned the policy of isolation, sooner or later it would have been necessary to do so under the conditions of the modern world. The policy may have been wise when the Atlantic Ocean was a great gulf between America and Europe. Transportation and communication were so slow that the United States could pursue policies independent of those followed in Europe. However, now that communication is instantaneous and transportation so rapid that goods cross the Atlantic in less than a week, and the trade of each nation depends upon materials derived from other nations, isolation is no longer possible. The world has become one body, and no great member of it can proceed independently of other members. They must act together, and this is only possible through formal treaty covenants.

Moreover, the proposal to join a League of Free Nations is fundamentally different from joining an alliance of the kind which was meant when the doctrine of avoiding entangling alliances was developed. The danger of joining an alliance is that this alliance will get into armed conflict with another alliance. The plan of balance of powers between alliances in Europe, we know has lead to disastrous wars from time to time. If it were proposed that the United States should enter into an alliance with one or two Powers in Eu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rope, the objection would hold that it would be entering into an entangling alliance. But the proposal is that the United States shall enter a League of Free Nations, which shall at the outset include the great dominant free nations and which shall finally include practically all nations. This is not an alliance, but a step toward co-operative world organization, and therefore World Peace. Not only should the United States enter the League of Free Nations, but she should take the position of leadership in its formation to which she is entitled from the commanding influence which she is exercising at the present time in the councils of the world.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# HOW'S MEXICO NOW?

By LINN A. E. GALE

MEXICO CITY is all right!

She is carrying on a difficult task of reconstruction, made necessary by almost seven years of revolution, in a sane, intelligent and practical fashion that is full of promise for her future. Resorting to American vernacular, it may be said that Mexico City—and the whole country as well—is "coming back" after having had its full share of "rough stuff."

It is no exaggeration to say that Mexico, from one end to the other, is experiencing a boom—not a spasmodic, fly-by-night boom, but a steady, gradual one that has all the ear-marks of permanency. This boom extends to every phase of legitimate business activity, and is the logical companion and result of the policy of rehabilitation that President Carranza is putting into operation throughout Mexico.

Right here, let the fabrications about President Carranza's pro-Germanism be put out of the mind once and for all. President Carranza is *not* pro-German and his governmental associates and advisers are not. A few may have been pro-German yesterday, but not today. It is easy for the average American to overlook that the viewpoint of the Mexican statesman is necessarily somewhat different than the viewpoint of the statesman of the United States. This is not saying that there is any inherent conflict between the interests of the two countries. There is not, obviously, but there are such entirely different conditions in the two countries and there has been so much trouble between Americans and Mexicans that a feeling akin to suspicion may naturally remain among some leaders of both countries. President Carranza, in common with other prominent Mexicans, feels that there have been altogether too many capitalists "milking" Mexico, exploiting Mexican laborers and even encour-



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

aging resistance to the Mexican government for mercenary purposes.

As I have said, Mexico is experiencing a boom. To be sure, all of the damage done during the revolution has not been repaired, and there are not as many Americans here as there were before it. But probably all that was possible under existing conditions has been done in the time since order was really restored. Little remains to show the devastation wrought by the internal strife of a few years ago, and again there is a flux of investors, manufacturers and other business men from foreign countries to the Capital of the Mexican republic. Mexico City is already a "Melting Pot" of no mean importance and every week sees fresh evidence of unfolding prosperity. The city has always contained many Americans and British, it has a small French element, a large number of Russians and a surprising Oriental population, the Chinese and Japanese having frequently intermarried with Mexicans. Of Germans there is also a large colony, most of the drug stores being owned by Germans.

### MEXICO'S PERMANENT GROWTH

ERECTION of many new structures, both for offices and homes, and improvement and enlargement of many old buildings, are signs of the times that are noticeable. One might say that a mild building fever has been in progress for some time and keeps gaining.

New stores, business houses and other enterprises are opening, not in leaps and jumps, but with a steadiness that shows that the growth is normal. The city is developing—that's all. It is beginning to take its place in the world as a trade center as well as the capital of a rich and beautiful country and the scene of some of the greatest marvels of architecture to be found anywhere on the globe. It is acquiring an appreciation of commodities, manufactures and the like, and combining it with the Mexican racial tendency of overlooking more practical and prosaic things while delighting in gorgeous flowers, beautiful parks, spangled gowns and magnificent monuments.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

President Carranza has all along shown a real interest in having a more evenly-balanced development in his country. At the present time the Mexican government is giving special attention to the encouragement of new industries.

The Secretary of Industry and Commerce recently called attention to the government's willingness to cooperate, especially in establishing industries for making shoe polish, metal polish, and preserves, for which the necessary glass and tin were formerly not available. In many instances the government has manifested a decidedly socialistic trend by giving substantial aid to new industries that seemed really worth while. Two new auto-tire factories have just been opened in Mexico City.

### MAY LEAD THE WORLD IN OIL

IN oil production Mexico is forging forward rapidly. Figures show that so far in 1918 about twice as much oil has been shipped to the United States as during the corresponding portion of the year 1917. Mexico is now third in oil production and will undoubtedly pass Russia and take second place before the end of the year. In time she may lead the United States in petroleum production and stand first. It has been estimated that if the 65 existing wells in Mexico were allowed to flow freely, they would produce 250,000,000 barrels of oil a year, or almost as much as the United States produces in its innumerable wells. When new wells are opened, Mexico's supremacy in oil would seem almost certain.

Of the world's stock of silver, it is claimed that 40 per cent is mined in Mexico. The country ranks second among the countries of the world in copper production, third in lead and fourth in gold. The chief products of Mexico are in every case articles which are needed in the United States in ever-increasing quantities. The list is topped with petroleum, silver, gold, copper and lead, while zinc, other minerals, cattle, sheep, hides, skins, wool, long staple cotton, sisal and other fibers, coffee, cane sugar, tobacco, rice, rubber, dye-

DRURY COLLEGE LIBRARY
Springfield, Missouri
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

woods, gums, wax, vegetable oils, cabinet woods, raw silk, tropical fruits, nuts, spices, winter vegetables, asphalt, clays, fertilizers, manufacturing chemicals, medicinal plants and many other products fill out the big Mexican cornucopia.

There has lately been reported a big increase in the coin output of the country and the mints are exceptionally busy. One of the late acts of the government to stimulate commerce, is the opening of the elegant Commercial Museum in Mexico City in which are exhibited samples of all raw materials and manufactured products found in the republic. A vast amount of data is also kept in the museum so that a stranger may learn practically all he may wish to know about any Mexican product or manufacture, even to the names and addresses of producers and manufacturers.

One of the best criterions of the increasing stability of business and other conditions is the extension of banking facilities, and the opening of new banks. Not long ago an American newspaper correspondent, with a fantastic imagination or an erratic pen, wrote of seeing loads of gold coin carted about the streets of Mexico City, toted back and forth in large financial transactions because business men did not dare deposit their money in any of the banks of the National Capital. The tale was enough to make a peon laugh. As a matter of fact there are several American and Canadian banks in Mexico City and they conduct business in precisely the same way as do banks in the United States. Checking accounts are maintained by a large share of business men and by many private individuals.

### BUSINESS CONFIDENCE HAS BEEN RESTORED

THE revolution, with its conflicting governmental régimes asserting authority at the same time and issuing different kinds of money, naturally destroyed credit for a time, but business confidence is largely restored now. Checks are used extensively again, although, as everywhere, nothing takes precedence over a New York draft—except gold coin. Two new banks have opened in the country in the past few

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

weeks, the Petroleum Banking and Trust Company in Tampico and the Mines and Metals Security Company in Chihuahua.

International postal money-order service was recently resumed between the United States and Mexico and is again utilized extensively by inhabitants of both countries. Mexican postal service, contrary to the opinions of many in other countries, is efficient and modern. It is interesting to observe that the post-office department in this country has paid a profit for several years, which is more than can be said of the American postal system. Railway and telegraph lines are also operated and owned by the government and both have more than broken even for some time.

Mexico City and Tampico are naturally the leading cities of the country, Tampico being the center of the petroleum industry and having been very properly characterized the second Pittsburgh of America. The growth of the latter city from 30,000 eight years ago to 100,000 at the present time speaks for itself. However, not only in Mexico City and Tampico, but in all parts of the Mexican republic, there is a field of opportunity such as can hardly be rivaled anywhere on earth.

Although hindered by many misfortunes, frequently robbed by foreign capitalists and greatly damaged by internal strife, Mexico is steadily moving forward toward greater peace, progress and prosperity.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# ADMIRAL McGOWAN

## The Man Who Takes Care of Our 300,000 Sailor Boys

By JOHN BRUCE MITCHELL

"WHERE was our Great Battle Fleet operating?" Did that question ever occur to you?

"What waters were our fleets of torpedo-destroyers patrolling?"

"Where were our hundreds of submarine chasers?"

"What routes did our transports take?"

"What about our 'mother-ships,' our submarines, our naval stations, our hundred and one units of the Great American Navy?"

There is one man in Washington who could answer all of these questions at any hour of the day or night—but it was useless to ask him, for he would not tell. He was too busy supplying them all.

Whatever our Navy should have for its effectiveness; for its larder and its locker, for its coal bunkers and its stores—this man in Washington filled that order instanter.

It was a big job that fell upon the shoulders of a relatively young Fleet Paymaster, an erstwhile lawyer of South Carolina. More than 300,000 men and 1,100 ships must be taken care of day in and day out by this square-jawed Southerner who stands at the head of one of the largest business enterprises of the government, the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, disbursing some thirty million dollars every day of the year.

In his office in Washington Rear Admiral Samuel McGowan, Paymaster General of the United States Navy, speaking of his task remarked: "My rule is 'A full plate—and a clean one!' Every man in the Navy can have all he



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wants to eat, and gets it, but he must clean up his plate." In other words, no "leavings" are permitted. It's a good Hooverizing rule, these days, which should be a slogan in every home, club, restaurant and hotel. As to clothing and personal needs the Navy has everything necessary at all times, and on every ship there is, in addition, a "store" where may be purchased at a low cost more than ninety different articles from cold cream to catsup, from pipes to pickles, vaseline to ice cream and padlocks to pastry.

### NO SUCH EXCUSE AS "JUST OUT" IN THE NAVY'S STORE

IN "Do-it-now" McGowan's bright lexicon of "Naval Supplies" there's no such phrase as "We're just out." Shops, big and little, throughout the United States may have to use that phrase frequently to their customers but the man in the Navy gets what he needs when he needs it, from the fireman who wants a shovelful of coal to the Jackie who would like a second helping of apple pie.

It is not difficult to make clear why Admiral McGowan may be called a "Do-it-now" man. Admiral Sims, U-boat hunter, can tell you *how* McGowan does it. Every man in the Navy, from the newest Jackie to Secretary Daniels can tell you that there isn't a button or a shoelace lacking in the entire United States Navy, that there isn't a thing needed by it on land or sea but what is to be had for the asking.

The Subcommittee of Naval Affairs discovered, in its investigation, that Rear Admiral McGowan, Paymaster General and Chief of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, has a big job. The members of this committee reported that it is one of the biggest enterprises in the United States and that the man at the head of it "has established and well deserves a Nation-wide reputation for business efficiency."

Members of this subcommittee, in fact, went into several printed pages in its report in an attempt to describe how McGowan suddenly shifted his bureau from a little staff of 128 with only 300 ships and 55,000 men to look out for, to a staff of more than 700 men with 1,100 ships and 300,000

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

men to look out for, and made the shift without a bump, jar or audible sound and without changing his system.

### EVERY DESTROYER EQUIPPED FROM BUTTONS TO BISCUITS

WHEN our destroyers went across they were fitted out to the last button and last lump of coal and last drop of oil and last tin of biscuit. They had a big job dead ahead, driving the U-boat scourge from the seas and needed a complete equipment. They got it by means of this system and to make sure that Admiral Sims could keep right on with his day and night task of smashing the enemy subs without a hitch or a moment's delay, McGowan issued an order to the effect that whatever Admiral Sims ordered and whenever he ordered it, such supplies were to be shipped that same day without delay and that the Admiral's wishes were always to be considered the wishes of the Paymaster General.

Admiral McGowan had his own methods of getting goods that he wanted when he wanted them. First of all, prompt deliveries were facilitated in a measure by the elimination from the bidding list of all who were not, previous to bidding, manufacturers of or regular dealers in the articles desired.

The Navy had important business. McGowan knew it, but he wanted the people who were manufacturing the supplies to know it, too; not only the manufacturers, but every man, woman and child employed in turning out the supplies. To bring this about he selected commissioned officers whom he knew to be especially fitted for this work, officers who could say something in few words and with emphasis, who could paint vivid word pictures. He told them their mission and sent them abroad to visit mills and factories and talk directly to the employes. He told them what to say and how to say it and they talked direct to these people. When they were through every employe had a new interest and an added pride in what he was doing. It was work for Uncle Sam and it had been well pictured. They speeded up.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Result:—never a fall-down on deliveries. Consequently when Admiral Sims wanted something, it was already manufactured and ready to be shipped. When anything anywhere was needed it was ready.

Orders for everything needed were placed so far ahead that the supply was never out, and the goods were ready for delivery the same hour that the request came.

### HOW THE ADMIRAL OF SUPPLIES WORKS

ADMIRAL McGOWAN'S Washington office is unique. There is probably not another like it, certainly not another where such big business is transacted. To spend thirty million dollars a day in providing for 300,000 men on 1,100 ships necessitates some detail. One can easily imagine a mammoth office filled in every corner and crevice with desks and filing cases, shelves and index files. But that isn't McGowan's style of office.

His is a large square room. The floor is of shining parquetry, as clean as a wind-swept battleship deck. At the center, near the wall, there is a flat-topped desk with a correspondence basket, generally empty, inkstand and penholder, blotter and writing pad. At the desk is one swivel chair.

And there is not another chair in that office!

Nor is there another desk, nor any other furniture whatsoever. McGowan never sits down unless he has to sign a letter. He steps into another room to dictate his letters. He goes through the big suite of offices, on two floors, where his staff of more than seven hundred work, consults references, and does other work while standing. And when he has callers in his sanctum he rises and awaits their entrance. The callers almost invariably look about for a chair. There are none. Admiral McGowan is standing. If he can stand of course they can—and must stand.

Then he smiles. It is said that he has more friends than any other man in the country. That smile is hearty and infectious. It has fooled many who would take advantage of it. Frequently men on business would like to "talk all

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

around Robin Hood's barn." McGowan listens but his replies make the visitor understand that he is to say what he has to say without waste of time.

He will give his valuable time lavishly, like a spendthrift, when it is necessary. When it is not necessary it is easier to get a speech out of the Sphinx than to get an unnecessary minute out of him.

"Ahem," began a pompous visitor one day who glanced severely about the office three times in a vain search for a chair, "are you economizing in furniture?"

McGowan smiled cheerfully and even cordially. "Ah, no, not that. The fact is that if I have chairs in here I am afraid I might take up too much of the valuable time of some of my callers."

The pompous individual stated his business crisply and toddled out with a much bruised ego.

### DEMANDS THE BEST FOR THE NAVY

THE Paymaster General is a native of South Carolina, but he has strong Missouri traits. He must be shown. When he buys something for Uncle Sam's sailor boys, whether they be officers or enlisted men, he must have first-hand, personal knowledge that it is good enough for anybody, for the best. If it is, then it may pass muster.

Whether supplies furnished the men by the Government, or sold to them from the ships' stores, they must be "first chop." If it is a lot of razor strops McGowan wants to be shown whether they are real leather or composition. There's a way to find out. He passes by the samples and delves into the stock, taking one out here and there and cutting it open full length. If it is real leather, then it is all right for the men. If not, that contractor is through.

The ability to work hard and constantly and with the greatest efficiency is a McGowan characteristic. He achieved the art of working. In his second year in the University of South Carolina he found it necessary to work his way through. He did it and he also put two others through the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

University. By that time he had so well acquired the art of working that it became first nature to him. He entered the Navy Pay Corps in 1894 with the rank of Ensign. He is the only officer in the Navy who has made two cruises as Fleet Paymaster of the Atlantic Fleet.

He almost made a third cruise. There was only one reason why he did not, but it was a good one—they wouldn't let him because they wanted him to become Paymaster General.

When the fleet was engaged off Vera Cruz in 1914 a change in paymasters was due and a radio was sent to the Navy Department from the Commander-in-chief, Rear Admiral Charles J. Badger, to the effect that a Fleet Paymaster should be detailed at once and that McGowan was preferred.

### WHY M'GOWAN WAS SELECTED

BUT the Secretary of the Navy had other things in view for McGowan, so he missed his third cruise. The Secretary told the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, in a great many words, just what he thought of McGowan and his work. He declared in his long report that McGowan had been able to subsist the Navy during two years of the European war, despite the great increase in the cost of the most commonly used foodstuffs, at a rate of more than a thousand dollars a day *less* than for a like period before the war.

It was July 1, 1914, only sixty days before Germany tore up a scrap of paper that had been a treaty with Belgium and thus started something that has resulted in an unmourned funeral of Prussianism, that McGowan was appointed to his present office. President Willard of the B. & O., a member of the Council of National Defence, "discovered" that the Paymaster General made things sizzle and snap and hum in getting goods transported when he wanted them as promised. Willard literally took off his hat to the young Naval officer and declared afterward that in all of his years of intercourse with Government institutions he

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had never met up with such awe-inspiring efficiency as in McGowan's department.

Dewey, who "did it" at Manila, never dropped from his mind for an instant the welfare of our Navy, knew McGowan and his work and it was during his last illness that Admiral Dewey was discussing Naval affairs as usual and said, "McGowan is a splendid fellow." He paused. The Navy, after all, was above everything else, even friends, for he added, "He's one of the most efficient men that's been in the Navy in my time. Most efficient man that ever handled the bureau."

A friend asked McGowan if he played golf.

"No," said McGowan.

"Dance?" "Not if I can avoid it." "Motor?" "Takes too much time."

"Care for theatre?" "Not at all."

"What in thunder do you do to take up your spare time?" queried his friend.

"Work," said McGowan.

"Wizard" Edison, who works twenty-three and a half hours a day when his wife will let him, said "Admiral McGowan's office is the most interesting in Washington and he is the most interesting man in any office," and after his first meeting with McGowan he sent him his autographed photograph on which he also scrawled:

"To a live wire!"

### SOME PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

THE Paymaster General, a member of the South Carolina bar, never defends anyone who has strayed from the beaten path and is up before court-martial unless he is convinced that the man is either entirely innocent or deserves to be let off with the very lightest punishment. He surprised his friends once by defending a sailor up for manslaughter. The sailor got into a brawl with another, knocked him down and the man died. It looked mighty bad for the sailor. McGowan defended him, proved that the sailor could not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

honorably have avoided the fight and then proved that the victim's skull was abnormally thin, like that of the Irishman who was killed by a blow and it was proven that his skull was extremely thin, whereupon the prisoner said:

"Oi'll lave it to yer Honor if thot's any sor-r-t av a skull to be goin' to a fair wid!"

It isn't necessary for him to maintain his "Do-it-now" reputation by slave-driving, or by shouting, "Get on to the job." He keeps in touch with his 700 men, however, and the clock-watchers go. His method of speeding up is to say a few words of approval to all who do their work well, and say it in such a manner that they glow with pride and joy for months.

When anyone attempts to put something over on him he makes the English language do such weird stunts that the poor chap hobbles out in mental convulsions, but when he slaps you on the back and grins that hospitable Southern grin from out of his square jaws and says, "Hello, Old Man, it's great to see you!"—why, you just root for McGowan the rest of your days.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# BIG THINKERS ON RECONSTRUCTION

## What Leading American Business and Industrial Giants Foresee

By ALFRED E. KEET
[FORMER EDITOR OF THE FORUM]

IN England and France where, to a considerable measure, business, industry, and the People are wards of the Government, plans for reconstruction ran counter with plans to win the war.

In our own country individual initiative is the basis of our industrial success as a nation. It is not a habit with the American people to "put it up to the Government." When we have wanted anything done we have done it ourselves—we have thought it out ourselves, as business men, as constructive thinkers and builders. Our Government and our politicians have check-reined the progressive industrial steed, rather than directed its course.

Throughout the country the thinking, progressive Americans, both in Congress, in industries, in the colleges and in the shops, are actively putting into force reconstructive adjustments, so that the machinery of daily affairs in Peace time will get back, or step forward, unhampered by the multitudinous government control regulations and priorities that have been a part of the war machinery.

What are the views of some of our leading thinkers on this question of readjustment which is, according to Secretary of Commerce Redfield, "very largely a state of mind"? Our publicists and our industrial captains are not all thinking alike on this question. For instance, speaking internationally, President Eliot in a public address expressed the belief that the nations of the world must get together, set up no barriers, and adopt a policy of Free Trade. This is a



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

radical suggestion. Secretary Redfield believes that readjustment is proceeding without much assistance from the Government. President Wilson has given utterance to his belief in a more or less socialistic conception of public ownership. He has said that it would be a disservice alike to the country and the owners of the Railroads to return to the old conditions unmodified.

"It is a question which causes me the greatest concern," he stated in addressing Congress. "I frankly turn to you for counsel. I have no confident judgment of my own."

And William G. McAdoo, Director General of Railroads, says he voices the President's views in suggesting control of the roads for five years more as being the only equitable solution so far as the public and shareholders are concerned.

The question of continued Government control reaches down to the very marrow of our republican form of Government. It touches the wages and hours of labor of several millions of human beings, and it concerns the vital welfare of most American industries, and investments. In one way or another the vast American railroad interests are the most penetrating and comprehensive in the world.

### VIEWS OF SOME EMINENT RAILROAD AUTHORITIES

SHALL we turn it over to the party in power, whatever that party may happen to be? Mr. Julius Kruttschnitt, President of the Southern Pacific, is against "regional grouping," as tending to sacrifice values and destroy all competition. But with a modified Federal control, similar to that which has already existed in the past, he sees no reason why the public could not "secure the unquestioned benefits of private initiative and of efficiency as great as, or greater than, that shown by the Federal Railroad Administration," which, Mr. Kruttschnitt says, has made more intensive use of the railroads' methods of securing greater carloading and trainloading at the same time suppressing competi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion, and using facilities in common where it was for the public's good.

Thomas De Witt Cuyler, Chairman of the Railway Executives Advisory Committee, declares that the consensus of opinion among railroad men is: "that the railroad companies want a readjustment which will give the best possible system of transportation to the country. They neither expect nor wish to escape adequate responsible public regulation. They want a relation between rates, wages and dividends which will stimulate business adequately, reward labor and attract the volume of new capital needed for expansion. They want, therefore, regulation which is helpful and constructive as well as corrective."

Theodore P. Shonts, President of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company of New York, enunciates the following principles as a solution of the railroad problem:

> "A plan of government regulation which will be scientific and not political, which will apply the same point of view to approving rates as to approving the chemical composition of a steel rail.
>
> "Concentration in the regulating authority which adds to the expenses of the roads of responsibility for the rates with which those expenses must be met.
>
> "Provision that initiation of rates shall be in the hands of the carriers; that rates may not be suspended, except upon complaint and after a hearing and that final decision must be made within sixty days.
>
> "Establishment by Congress itself of the fundamental principles to govern the reasonableness of rates, such principles to include fair reward for excellence of service, efficiency of management and prudent foresight in providing new facilities against future needs."

If these were embodied in law he believes the public would gain immense advantage by the promptest possible return of the properties to their owners.

Henry Clews sees danger in government control of public utilities terming it a "socialistic drift" which would put our Government into business experiments for which it is entirely unfitted and which if not checked would completely throttle that spirit of individual enterprise which proved the basis of our national growth.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Some resolutions adopted at a recent meeting of railroad executives were:

> "That private initiative, enterprise and responsibility in the creation, extension, improvement and operation of the American railways should, as a matter of national policy, be fostered and preserved, and that government ownership and operation of these facilities is not conducive to the highest economic efficiency of the country.
>
> "That the principle of reasonable, responsible and adequate governmental regulation of these facilities is recognized and accepted, but such regulation should provide for encouragement, protection and upbuilding of the railways as well as for the correction and check of any abuses.
>
> "That a system of governmental regulation or control, to be applicable when the properties are returned, should be provided by Congress, which, while safeguarding the public will provide uniformity of regulation in essential matters, insure a business treatment of the vast interests involved, attract adequate capital and assure the commercial, manufacturing and agricultural interests of the country of transportation facilities which shall keep pace with their growing necessities and deal equitably with questions affecting wages and working conditions of railroad employes."

Congress is already moving in this matter, and a resolution has even been introduced proposing Government purchase of telegraph and telephone properties.

### RECONSTRUCTIVE FINANCE

PAUL M. WARBURG, a former vice-governor of the Federal Reserve Board, urges Americans to aid foreign trade and to form a Peace Financial Corporation to assist nations abroad. In his view:

> "Our banks and bankers must be able and willing freely to extend their acceptances for the financing of the world's trade. It is inevitable, if our banks and bankers continue to show the same spirit of enterprise and patriotism they have demonstrated during the war, that in the financing of the world's current trade we shall have a very large share. . . . To that end the discount rates of the Federal Reserve Banks and the policy of the Federal Reserve Board with respect to acceptance transactions must continue to be liberal. I can foresee the time when American dollar acceptances will be outstanding to the extent of more than one billion dollars in credits granted all over the globe. . . .
>
> "Almost all European countries, allies, neutrals, the liberated nations and even one-time enemies for a prolonged

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

period will require food, or steel, or copper, or cotton, or machinery with which to rebuild their life and industries. Many of them at present have neither gold nor goods nor services with which to pay us. Individual and banking credit in some cases has been seriously affected, and in others has not yet had sufficient time to establish or re-establish itself. Without doubt we shall consider it our proud privilege to give whatever we can spare to those that deserve our aid, particularly to those who, like France and Belgium, have an undoubtedly valid moral claim on us, and to that end we shall have to continue to reduce our own consumption to the necessary degree."

Mr. George M. Reynolds, President of the Continental & Commercial National Bank of Chicago, sees more cause for optimism than pessimism in the business situation. As to the fear of heavy European inroads upon our gold, he says:

". . . The amounts owing us, plus prospective purchases from us, will be the lever by which the United States can, in large measure, regulate the outward flow of the yellow metal.

INTEREST RATES

"Notwithstanding our strong monetary position, it is my opinion that there will not likely be any considerable drop in interest rates any time soon because the demand for bank accommodations will no doubt continue sufficient to hold rates at or near the present level. While we realize that the cancellation of government contracts and the discontinuance of the manufacture of war supplies will enable a great many borrowers to pay down their bank loans, new government financing will take up the slack. However, there will be enough money to meet all the legitimate demands of business."

## OUR FOREIGN TRADE AND INTERESTS

MR. JAMES A. FARRELL, of New York, talking of economic warfare after the war, says that there should be no ground for misunderstanding America's position.

"An unrepentant Germany, still wedded to her idols of militarism and the relentless application of superior force, can establish no right to demand the raising of the economic blockade which has been a most potent instrument in ending the war. If Germany is to be compelled, as she ought to be, to repay the wanton destruction she has wrought . . . she must have access to the raw materials of manufacture."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As to foreign trade generally Mr. Farrell thinks "there can be no great revival, in the countries where we hope for it most, unless we are ready to provide capital for their development. We must enter into the industrial life of their countries, engage in enterprises with them, and create out of their resources the new wealth from which will come our pay. Europe's economic wants are on a colossal scale, difficult to realize, too vast to be met by private enterprise. Old-time methods of competition sound trivial. Co-operation on large and magnanimous scale and in most sympathetic spirit must be the rule if economic recovery is to be quick and thorough."

In harmony with this spirit of co-operation the U. S. Chamber of Commerce favors:

> "Indorsement of the principle of international economic co-operation, which is to include all nations similarly minded; the appointment of a committee for the development of a better understanding and good-will between the United States of America and other industrial nations; a declaration to the effect that the business interests of our country stand opposed to any policy of exploitation, and a declaration indorsing the principle of service as basic to a proper international relationship."

And further suggests the calling of an International Convention, similar to that held in Paris in 1914, at the earliest practicable moment.

Mr. Elbert H. Gary, discussing business and industrial phases of this reconstruction era, predicts that

> "The next five years in this country will be the most progressive, prosperous and successful of our history; the results will astonish even the most optimistic of today. We need to be conservative, thoughtful, persistent, fair minded and wise up to the limit of our understanding. . . . Values or prices generally throughout this country are abnormal and unreasonable. We ought to get back to a peace basis as speedily as possible. It should be accomplished in an orderly and methodical manner and with the least disturbance to general business and without injustice to any. This is peculiarly a time for constructive thought and action; for cool heads, for courage, for the exercise of a spirit of fairness; even for sacrifice when necessary."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PETROLEUM—THE MERCHANT MARINE

MR. A. C. BEDFORD, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, thinks that before much progress on a program of reconstruction is in sight American industry must know the extent to which it is to receive the cooperation of the Government, and he wonders

> "If American corporations engaged in developing export trade are to be encouraged by the operation of the Webb act, or shackled by the Sherman law? And if the legitimate aims of American industry are to be represented at the Peace conference? We know that the British Government is a partner in the petroleum business and that every advantage gained in the Peace parley will be an advantage gained for British and Allied petroleum interests. On this subject I think we should express ourselves firmly and conclusively."

A HUGE TRADE FLEET NEEDED

MR. SCHWAB firmly believes that a great merchant marine is necessary for the ultimate success of the United States in plans of reconstruction. Says this "Marshal Foch of Industry," as Mr. Vanderlip termed him:

> "I do not care what plan may be best for the operation of these ships, so long as they are operated economically and the expense of operation is borne by the whole people. No American shipping can be successful or enlist private capital today as shipping is now operated."

Mr. Schwab declares that the possession and proper operation of this merchant marine would solve the labor problems of our country, by the increase of opportunities to the nation, and this successful operation could "only be permanently and properly maintained by individual ownership and initiative."

Speaker Champ Clark, too, believes that our future prosperity depends upon our foreign trade. Hence our now immense merchant marine "should be maintained forever, and this can be done only by modernizing our navigation laws, making our seamen the most efficient, and, above all, increasing our foreign trade."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAPITAL AND ORGANIZED LABOR

ON this subject Mr. Schwab denies that he is opposed to unionism. He says:

> "I believe that labor should organize in individual plants or amongst themselves for the protection of their own rights; but the organization and control of labor in individual plants and manufactories ought to be made representative of the people in those plants who know the conditions. . . . I seriously doubt that many times in the years gone by labor has received its fair share of the prospects of this great country. We, as manufacturers, have got to open our eyes to a wider vision of the present and the future with reference to our workers. We have got to devise ways and means by which capital and labor, that have so often been termed synonymous, shall share equally, not in theory, but in practice."

In this connection Ex-Governor Hughes recently laid great stress upon industrial cooperation.

> "If we are to look forward to the common prosperity, we must give a free course to co-operation in industry. The war has compelled co-operation, and the Government, under this compulsion, has fostered what it previously denounced as criminal."

Mr. Hughes is apprehensive of serious labor troubles during readjustment, and suggests a rapid survey of all the important public work in the various States and municipalities which has been halted by the war and that intelligent effort be made to set it going as rapidly as possible.

Charles H. Sabin, President of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, warns that

> "In seeking to establish the principle of self-determination for the nations of Europe we should be careful not to overlook the safeguarding of self-determination for the American people and American business interests. . . . The war has taught us that competition and individual action must yield to co-operation and co-ordination.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP—ECONOMIC CHAOS

> "Government ownership of railroads would be followed by public ownership of all public utilities, and then of natural resources, and the end of such a program could be only economic chaos, financial disaster and political corruption.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A LABOR AUTOCRACY?

"Labor itself should be on its guard to forestall such possibilities, for labor has as much at stake, and is just as jealous of our individual and collective liberties, as any other element in our social organization. Capital and labor have shared equally in the profits of the war, as they have shared alike in its burdens. . . .

"And labor, which aided so patriotically and unstintedly in helping to make the world safe for democracy, must surely understand the danger to itself of attempting to establish labor autocracy. . . .

"Labor must make its adjustments to the purchasing value of the dollar, and cannot expect to keep wages up when prices fall, nor should it urge the economic waste of labor any more than of capital."

Big business executives, however, including Mr. Bedford of the Standard Oil Company, see no cause for alarm in our labor situation, as a large percentage of foreign laborers, having saved money out of their big war-wages, are going home to work out problems of reconstruction in their own lands, and it is doubtful if these will be set off by newcomers to the United States.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., sees a new industrial era coming. He is of opinion that the day had passed when industry could be considered as primarily a matter of private interest, and that every thinking man must adopt the view that the purpose of industry is to advance social well-being rather than primarily to afford a means for the accumulation of individual wealth.

NEW INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

HENRY P. KENDALL, Chairman of the Committee on Industrial Relations of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, is responsible for the following principles which he believes should govern the procedure of the various committees or adjustment boards:

1. Industrial enterprises should be conducted with a view to the greatest opportunity for all concerned.
2. Regularity of employment must be striven for.
3. The right of workers to organize to be admitted, and collective bargaining to be conceded.
4. Impartial agencies must be set up to interpret and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

apply agreements and to make prompt and authoritative settlements of differences.

5. The right of all workers to a minimum living wage is declared.

6. High wages and national prosperity go hand in hand. Therefore, whenever the volume of business declines the last item of expense to be reduced should be wages.

7. A standardized and established wage should represent a standardized measure of performance.

8. In all plants where the number of workers is large a responsible executive should be charged with the superintendence of relations between the workers and the management.

Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip does not believe that there is a period of depression or hardship in store for us by reason of army demobilization and readjustment or that wages or prices generally are likely to fall for some years to come, as the great gold reserves here and in Europe would prevent a sudden drop.

Increases in capital for industry, Mr. Vanderlip declared, would not in the future depend so greatly on "bank money," but on direct investment by the people. The bondholders in this country before the war, he added, numbered 280,000, whereas today they numbered over 20,000,000 and constituted a new source of investment-capital of the first importance.

Nathan A. Smyth, Assistant Director of the Employment Service of the Department of Labor, says:

> "It has been found necessary to start demobilization on the basis of military units, with no reference to whether or not the men are needed in industry. . . . Among those turned out will be thousands of farm workers, released when jobs on the farm are few and now seeking employment in industries where it may prove hard to withdraw them when the sap begins to run . . .
>
> "The soldiers are mustered out on a few days' notice. . . . Already they are turning up in the cities, improvident, 'broke.' Unless measures are promptly taken, the sight of stranded, workless, moneyless soldiers will be common throughout our land."

Secretary Houston lately paid high tribute to American farmers and advocated personal credit unions for farmers, the ownership of farms, a close study of the economics of agriculture, the desirability of facilitating land settlements in more systematic fashion, Federal supervision of the pack-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing industry, agricultural opportunities for returning soldiers, all of which he believes are "concrete principles for the improvement of agriculture and rural life of the Nation."

American engineers will play an important part in the rehabilitation work here and abroad. T. A. Waldron, an engineer, believes that the standardization of engineering products, co-operative effort of legislators and engineers, education of the public to a mental attitude of basic economy and a redistribution of occupations according to adaptability are steps toward "the elimination of useless and unnecessary labor," a necessity in reconstruction.

Summarizing reconstruction plans so far put forward we find a practical unanimity to the effect that we must have:

Co-operation in world's trade.
No commercial exploitation of smaller nations.
No rapid scaling down of prices or wages.
Private ownership of railroads under constructive Federal control.
A great merchant marine.
An international trade convention.
Financial aid for their development for foreign countries.
Co-operation between capital, labor and the community.
Quick Congressional action where needed.

The foregoing give some idea of the trend of public thought in our now peaceful country on this momentous matter of reconstruction.

"Out of the multitude of counsel comes wisdom," and it may safely be prognosticated that the nation which so rapidly and so efficiently succeeded in making the world "safe for democracy," can confidently be relied upon to grapple successfully with the demand of the moment—business, industrial and economic readjustment.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE THEATRE IN REVIEW

By C. COURTENAY SAVAGE

***The Theatre "Over There"***

SO much has been said of the horror of war, that it is a relief to hear a returning hero in khaki speak of some of the good things that he had seen in France.

"The best of all, to my mind," he remarked, by way of climax, "was the shows that the American vaudeville people gave us. Say," he waxed suddenly enthusiastic, "we were out in a billet about twenty miles from Paris, and had seen some snappy fighting. Most of the fellows were mighty glad to get a little rest, for it had been rather unnerving to see men you'd chummed with shot up and even killed. We'd been in camp just long enough to get some clean clothes and make ourselves comfortable when the word went round that the Over There Theatre people were going to give us a show. I didn't know what that meant, I guess few of the fellows did, but I took a chance and followed the crowd.

"Man alive, you should have heard that mob go wild when a real live American girl most of us recognized got up on that little platform out in the field and started to sing us songs we'd heard her sing before. The orchestra was an old organ, and she wore her service clothes instead of a good-looking dress, but oh, those songs! I'll bet we gave that little lady the best hand she ever got. And she earned it, for you've got to get more than three thousand miles away from your favorite vaudeville theatre before you really appreciate what a good song and dance act means to a fellow.

"Yep, I saw lots of shows in France, but none of them like that first show the Over There crowd handed out."

Every man might not be so enthusiastic in his praise, but the work of the Over There Theatre deserves a place



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with the biggest and most successful of the war relief organizations. Founded in the spring of 1918 by a group of theatrical workers who had been in France and saw the necessity of giving American entertainment to American boys, this league was an instantaneous success among the people of the theatre. When volunteers were wanted to go to France and give performances in Y. M. C. A. huts, in barns, in open fields, in hospitals, at any point where a body of men in uniform might gather, the committee in charge of selection was overwhelmed with applicants. They came from the poorest vaudeville teams and from legitimate players whose ability earned them a thousand dollars a week.

The task of selection was not easy, but the players who sailed in the weeks following the formation of the league were chosen chiefly for the comedy value of their offerings, or their ability to sing character songs. All players wear uniform, but the women are allowed to make one "change," this extra costume being simple enough to fit into the limited amount of baggage carried. The performers are paid two dollars a day and their expenses. This is small when one has been receiving a comfortable four or five hundred a week.

The signing of the armistice has in no way stopped the plans of the Over There Theatre League; to the contrary, it quickened their activities, for the men in France are more in need of entertainment while they wait their return-home orders than ever before. Two or three units are sailing every week (all players travel in units, each unit generally comprising five or six players), while in addition a stock company of leading American actors and actresses has gone over to give current plays to the boys. The term of service in France is for three months, and notable among the players, either in France or returned, are E. H. Sothern and Julia Marlowe, Dorothy Donnelly, Burr McIntosh, John Craig, Elsie Janis, Walter Damrosch, Irene Franklin, and Burton Green, in addition to a roll call that is "all star." This work will be carried on indefinitely, until the body of American troops are safe at home.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

### *Comedies*

IN Cyril Harcourt's new comedy, "A Place in the Sun," the author of "A Pair of Silk Stockings" has given us a laughable and smart story of London, with a basic theme of caste that might easily be used for a melodrama. In the brief prologue a young aristocrat kisses the pretty sister of one of his tenants, and the tenant, a farmer with literary aspiration, in his anger kisses the sister of the man from the Hall. The body of the play is years later—and something far more serious than kissing is concerned. It must have been amusing to Mr. Harcourt to write comedy scenes where one would naturally expect physical violence. The passage between the farmer, now a famous novelist, and the son of the old aristocrat, who still believes that caste lines can never be broken, is without doubt the most skillfully written and played scene being offered this season. The play is helped to a happy ending through the action of the sister of the aristocrat, who, hoping that her father may see the situation in its true light, goes to the apartment of the farmer-novelist, with every intention that her being there will compromise her good name. This, too, is a brilliantly written scene, and turns the action from expected melodrama to laughable comedy.

The play is particularly well acted, with the author playing a brief but amusing role of a drunken reporter. Norman Trevor is the farmer who turns novelist, and Peggy Hopkins —fresh from the "Follies"—is the young lady of social position who likes to be kissed and decides to be compromised. The best performance of the company, however, is given by John Holliday. He portrays a cad who is likable and human in his unsound philosophy that he cannot marry without money, or his father's consent, no matter how much he loves. Naturally, he changes his mind, and for novelty he shows his prig of a father the door. Merle Maddern, a niece of Mrs. Minnie Maddern Fiske, adds to the enjoyment as a smarty society woman, while Jane Cooper, of "Music Master" fame, plays *Rosie,* the little lady from the farm who causes all the trouble.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

" A Place in the Sun " is entirely English in its problem, but it is amusing and of unusual construction.

Another comedy that is carried to success by the splendid acting of the members of the cast (we are fast approaching the day when plays with all-star casts will not be notable) is " Three Wise Fools." This newest comedy is from the pen of Austin Strong and has the double theme of the rejuvenation of three elderly men by a girl who becomes a member of their household, plus a second theme which, by making the girl misunderstood by those about her, gives the author the opportunity of lending a note of drama to his comedy.

The story is not particularly gripping; in fact, there is no moment when the audience is in doubt of the ultimate ending, but it is fresh and clean, and that is a relief to men and women who see so much that is sordid in daily life. After all, most of us still believe in fairy stories. The acting of " The Three Wise Fools " is excellent, Claude Gillingwater, the most prominent of the middle-aged trio, giving a perfectly balanced performance. Helen Menken, who has been advancing in her art the past few seasons, is the heroine, and justifies her position. " Three Wise Fools " is made of popular material and will have a lengthy run.

### *Still the War Play*

OF the two war plays that were offered after the signing of the armistice, only one is worthy of serious consideration, and that had the keen edge of its interest dulled because of the previous showing of a play of similar theme. I refer to " The Crowded Hour." It is the story of a chorus girl who finds that she has a soul—perhaps a conscience would be the correct word. When the audience first meets *Peggy Lawrence,* she is frankly disputing her right to the love of a married man with the man's wife, and when her lover joins the service she promptly follows, as a telephone operator, in hopes that she may be near him. The characterization is clever. The girl is not glorified immediately by her service, she thinks only of herself, until there is a moment when she must decide between many men or the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man she loves. Then duty forces her to discard her own affair. All through the moment when she must decide if she is to save the man she loves or a division, she is surrounded by conditions that make her put aside all selfishness; the environment of a war heroism wins. In the last act, with her lover apparently dead, she again meets his wife. This time the wife is triumphant in the duel of love, for *Peggy*, having found that "one crowded hour of glorious life is worth an age without a name," renounces her lover, who is not dead, after all.

The acting is again of the "all-star" variety, with Jane Cowl playing *Peggy*. It is not the best part Miss Cowl has ever had, but she is an emotional actress of deep value and carries the play to undoubted success through her characterization. Orme Calara and Christine Norman are also in the cast, which, for further novelty, has a number of French players playing French characters.

The other drama of the war is "By Pigeon Post." It is a play of the old-fashioned English type, with a flock of carrier pigeons as the central interest. The characters are familiar, a general, a colonel, a Red Cross nurse, a society girl turned chauffeur, and, of course, a spy. The play is not of the lasting variety, and it is very likely that by the time this appears it will either be in the storehouse or "on the road" minus its very able company of popular players who have nothing to work with.

### *And Two New Dramas*

A THIRD drama, one that has some distant relation to the war, but more distinctly concerning the clash of faiths, is "The Little Brother," which gives Walter Whiteside an opportunity to do the finest work he has done since the days of Zangwill's "The Melting Pot." The central figures are a Jewish rabbi and a Russian Catholic priest. The dramatic situation comes early in the play when the ward of the priest wishes to marry the daughter of the rabbi and each young person is denounced by the elder guardian. As the action of the play progresses, the audience learns, in a stirring scene,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the contending men are really brothers, separated some forty years previously by the tragedy of a Russian pogrom. Adopted by kind strangers, one grows to be a Christian, the other a Jew. The result of the final curtain is, of course, obvious, but the drama is thoughtfully written and allows for some splendid characterization. The very best part of the whole play is the note implied in a speech that Mr. Whiteside is making to audiences demanding a curtain speech that the war has partially swept away barriers such as the play builds and that a universal brotherhood is dawning.

Mr. Whiteside plays the Jew and lends to the character a subtle dignity that makes the sympathies of the audience swing in his favor. It is a pleasure to see him in such a notable character part. Tyrone Power, as the priest, is giving a thoroughly clever characterization of the man he is to portray. It is not a part that will prove popular—he is the villain of the play—but he handles it with skill. It seems possible that "The Little Brother" will become a second "Melting Pot."

It is the fate of all great authors that their works will find their way to the stage. Any number of O. Henry's short stories have been dramatized, both for the spoken and silent drama, and it is notable that in "Roads of Destiny" Channing Pollock has been able to retain all the flavor of a very popular story and yet give the stage a drama that is filled with sustained interest and every good theatrical quality. It is a bit of master play construction.

The story of the new play, unlike the story that gives it foundation, is modern. The action opens on a Nebraska farm, as bleak an atmosphere as one might wish to leave, and the hero travels on the roads of destiny. One act takes him to a fashionable home of the Long Island hunt set, the other to the gambling house in Alaska. Whichever way he turns the result is the same—he finds happiness through the death of one who loves him. In the final act he returns to the Nebraska farm—and the result is identical. Destiny travels the same road, no matter which path we follow.

The play is remarkable in so far as it allows its leading

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

players to give a variety to their acting that is seldom possible in a popular play. Florence Reed is the featured player, and she is at her best whether playing a smartly-gowned French adventuress, the girl of the gambling hall, or the half-crazed farm girl. John Miltern is equally happy in his characterizations, being the millionaire "villain," the proprietor of the Alaskan "hell," or the brutal brother of the Nebraskan hero. Edmund Loew, best remembered for his work in "The Brat," is the hero, while Alma Belwin makes the fourth of the leading players. These four people meld their abilities to make "Roads of Destiny" one of the most melodramatic successes of the season.

### *The Musical Play of the Month*

THE single new musical comedy of the month is "Oh, My Dear!" It is typical of what has become known through the country as a "Princess Theatre show"—meaning that it is a light entertainment of merit, having little plot, plenty of clever people doing refined singing, dancing, or jesting, and belongs under the theatrical heading of "an intimate review." There is nothing startling about the new production. The plot is the old theme of a young man trying to live up to his reputation—with comic results. Of course, falsehoods are all forgiven as the final curtain falls, and life is the inevitable musical comedy song. In this case the songs are interesting, and some of them may be as popular as were those of "Oh, Boy," or even "Very Good Eddie." The humor is never hilarious. The singing and dancing is well done, with Joseph Santley in the leading part. Ivy Sawyer—who, by the way, is Mrs. Santley—plays opposite him, while another featured player is the very clever Georgia Caine, who has not appeared for several seasons.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# NEW BOOKS

By CHARLES FRANCIS REED

A PUBLISHER of international reputation recently refused to accept the latest novel of one of his most noted authors because "it lacked any reference to the world conflict, and it is impossible to write a successful narrative having its setting in the Middle West, and its time nineteen eighteen, which does not reflect the war."

With this demand it is not unnatural that in looking over a group of books sent for review one should find them all having some bearing on the martial. The most important recent volume seems to be Stephane Lauzanne's "Fighting France." (D. Appleton & Co.) It is a work of manifold interest. The author has been the editor-in-chief of one of the world's greatest newspapers—the Paris *Matin*—since 1901; has had much to do with the international politics of his nation; has served in the defense of his country,—and, having rare ability as a writer, is able to give a vividly interesting account of why and how France fought.

"France fights for two reasons," M. Lauzanne says at the end of an explanatory chapter. "The first reason is because on the third of August at a quarter before seven o'clock war was declared on her; she was forced to fight; her territory was invaded, her cities burned to the ground; her fields ravaged; her citizens massacred. The second reason is because she does not want to have to fight in the future; she does not wish this horror to be reproduced a second time; she wishes, in the immortal words of Washington, 'that plague of mankind, war, banished off the earth.'"

The first chapter is an enlightening picture, but in the chapters that follow the author has collected a mass of facts and figures that are presented in such an unusual manner as to make them truly interesting, and never for a moment dull, as facts and figures are apt to be. To destroy the lie that France is bled white M. Lauzanne merely states, "In 1914, at the Marne, France had an army of 1,500,000



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

men; today, after four years of war, France has on battle front, in the war zone, an army of 2,750,000 men." An unconfused and convincing statement.

*An Air Raid Over Paris*

In "Fighting France" there are descriptive bits that have not been excelled in any volume written about the war. The following is typical:

"Sunday, the thirtieth of August, was the first day the Taubes came over Paris. By chance I was guarding one of the city's gates. I saw the airplane coming from a distance. I had not the least doubt about it for it had the silhouette of a bird of prey that rendered the German planes so easily recognizable at that time. For that matter, no one was deceived by it, and from all the batteries, forts and other positions a violent fusillade greeted it. There was firing from the streets, windows, courts, and roofs. I followed it through my field glass, and for a moment I thought it had been hit, for it paused in its flight. But this was an optical illusion. . . . The plane simply flew higher, having without doubt heard the sound of the fusillade and the bullets having perhaps whistled too close to the pilot's ears. When he was almost over my post, a light white cloud appeared under its wings and, in the ten ensuing seconds, there followed a terrible series of sounds, for a bomb had just fallen and exploded very near at hand. But so entrancing was it to observe the flight of this pirate who, in spite of everything, continued in his audacious course, that I gazed at the heavens, trying to determine whether or not I saw once more the little white cloud, the precursor of the machine of death.

"And everyone who was near me—workmen, passers-by, women, children—stayed there too, their glances lost in the limitless sky. No one ran away; no one hid; no one sought refuge behind a door or in a cellar. It's a characteristic of airplane bombs that they frighten no one, even when they kill. The machine you see does not frighten you; only the machine you can't see upsets your nerves.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"However that may be, the curiosity of Paris was insatiable. Even in the tragic hours we were living through at that time, this curiosity remained as eager, ardent and amused as ever. Every afternoon, at the stroke of four, crowds collected in the squares and avenues. The motive was to see the Taubes! Since one Taube had flown over the city, no one doubted that a second one would come the next day. A girl's boarding school obtained a free afternoon to enjoy the spectacle. The midinettes were allowed to leave their work. At Montmartre, where the steps of the Butte gave a better chance of scanning the horizon, places were in great demand."

Not by any means the least interesting portion of the book is the Appendices, which convince the reader of the war aims of Germany. These consist of official German documents, with explanatory notes by the author. One of these documents from Berlin, published for the first time, ends with the paragraph:

"If the French Government declares it will remain neutral your Excellency will be good enough to declare that we must, as a guarantee of its neutrality, require the handing over of the fortresses of Toul and Verdun; that we will occupy them and will restore them after the end of the war with Russia. A reply to this last question must reach here before Saturday afternoon at 4 o'clock."

That was how Germany was "forced" into war by France!

### *American Novelists and the War*

THERE are some people who try to pretend that there was nothing funny in the gentle art of beating the Germans at their own game. They are entirely mistaken, and I think after reading the joyful adventures of *Ed. Harmon,* who writes the letters in H. C. Witwer's "From Baseball to Boches" (Small Maynard & Co.), they will be willing to admit that they are convinced of the presence of the real humor of the doughboys.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This book is written in the form of a series of letters from a famous " southpaw " to his friend back home. They start humorously with his quarrel with his manager, his enlistment, and carry him to France, where they leave him surrounded by the glory that has come to so many healthy Americans. " From Baseball to Boches " is real American humor, and might easily have been actually written by one of the lads in khaki who gave up their places in the world of earning their bread and butter and went out to fight immediately after America entered the war. The material which serves as a background for the story is familiar war setting, the story that connects the episodes—they are listed as innings—is decidedly thin, but the book is wholesome, and very laughable.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The Editor's Un-Easy Chair

*(Contributions to this department must be addressed to the Editor and should not exceed 1,000 words. Manuscripts should contain addressed envelope stamped.)*

## War's Imprint on the Psychology of the Metropolis

WITH New York's heart and mind consecrated to readjustment, the metropolis is returning to its own. One can say of New York what is said in the whole country; that it was a War center only, in a more varied expression of activities.

But, New York has certain habits inherited from its traditions of largess that confuse its stability of war character. Although these coquetries of inheritance, these tendencies to elaborate folly and capitalize it, have been curbed by the chastening spirit of our National crisis the expression of extravagance and gaiety still clings to its identity. Like a woman whose high spirits have been challenged, New York obeys the discipline of the hour, at times and in expression, a bit unwillingly. Her electric magnetism has been falsely accused, her night glamor has been called indiscreet the alluring charm of her brilliant gaieties has been interpreted as neglect of duty. The natural splendor of her physical beauty even, has been jealously assailed. Because she inherits the wealth which is hers, and because she displays the beauty which is hers, the depth and sincerity of her character is questioned. Naturally, she appears to those who accuse her, braggadocio, a bit defiant of her accusers, slow to throw off her temperamental high spirits.

New York is not among the débutantes, she is a woman of the world. She is the social leader of the country, the best dressed, the most entertaining hostess and the most democratic. Her serious side has not been adequately reflected, because she speaks in character not understood to the wayfarer. No Ibsen has cared to study her, no Shakespeare



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has poetized her, no Longfellow or Browning has touched her emotions. The minstrel who has sung her praises loudest has been George M. Cohan; the man who has best epitomized her sang froid and her wit, is William Collier. The pulpit has exaggerated her errors, and the provincial press has been a quick mirror of her vices. So, New York, the brilliant, smart, dashing, daring, but always democratic metropolitan figure of American life, finds herself challenged with lack of feeling. She has been called heartless. In a possible pageant of cities, New York might impersonate the character of the grass-widow of the Nation.

Why this impression predominates is the result of her great prosperity. As a community, it has been shown that New York is given to dangerous company. It has been suggested that we are not a city of biblical ideals, at least not one of the biblical cities favorably mentioned. It has been said that New York is a city of thé dansants and late breakfasts early in the morning.

Once upon a time, we were.

When the best European manners were considered very good, when our foremost citizens who adorned the horse-shoe curve at the Metropolitan Opera House believed that the best part of the world was on the other side of the Atlantic, New York's identity was imposed upon her. New York was regarded as a sort of society high school, for people with money to spend abroad. To New York a lot of other people in the United States came, for a final course in metropolitan education. Many of them had passed through a kind of preparatory school of foreign information, by attending Burton Holmes' illustrated lectures, by reading library books, by discussing Browning with outrageous daring at private literary clubs. To the New Yorker born and bred these people lacked the wider experience of life which New York provided.

### WAS OBEDIENT TO THE SPIRIT OF THE WAR

LIFE in New York used to be a very wide experience, about as wide as the pocket book and twice as long as any other city experience in America. There were many efforts

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to suppress the temperament of New York by long-haired reformers, political aspirants, and orators of sacred word. Old fellows like Washington Irving, content to live in dreamy retirement on the banks of the Hudson, didn't consider New York very seriously. It was Washington Irving who christened New York, Gotham. In very serious dictionaries Gothamites are described as "Wise Acres, Simpletons." Even in those early days of Dutch respectability, the New Yorker found it hard to be taken seriously. As time went on it was evident that New York had not gained the domestic confidence of our best regulated homes in America.

In those antique days, before the gas mask was thought of, the uninitiated visitor to New York was entreated not to blow out the gas when visiting Gotham. Police protection was always regarded as essential to safety in New York.

Briefly, these are suggestions that may excuse the almost world-wide impression that New York is the gayest city in this war-ridden world. This may be true, but it has not been at the neglect of any sacrifice demanded for war emergency. The enormous wealth of the city of New York, through its banks and its large financial institutions, has been poured ceaselessly into the United States Treasury. The military quota of New Yorkers at the front confirms the courage and loyalty of the city to our National ideals. The splendid efforts made to impress the light-hearted temperament of New York with the serious prospect of her duty to the war, was one of the executive triumphs of the Governor of the state. New York's allegiance to the war was a matter of anxiety at one time. Her enormous population of mixed views, her international confusion of opinion as to the war, made New York a difficult community to convince. It was soon found, however, that she was an American city without reserve, and that her people were obedient, not merely in the letter of the law, which the Government adopted since our declaration of war against Germany, but also in the spirit.

It has been in the little things of her daily life that New York has seemed to balk. It has been necessary to conserve the former follies of New York in the interests of the great

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

moral forces of the war—the soldier and sailor. The profligacy of New York's conservation has been one of its astounding features, for outwardly New York does not appear to have changed very materially.

In New York one still needs the money to conserve. People who come to New York from other cities seem to ignore their sense of conservation as soon as they get there. They still come to the gayest city in the country to spend their money, and therefore conservation has simply increased the extravagance of New York. Those who insist that New York is not economizing are not of New York, they are merely in New York. Her gay spots, the theatres, the cabarets, the tea-rooms, the dancing parlors are actually as crowded as ever. The increase of cost of these luxuries, plus war taxes, has not influenced them. Although men on all sides are complaining of restrictions in business, they are not spending less money than they did, they are spending more. One hears these complaints exchanged over extravagant luncheons, whispered at club banquets, openly discussed in fashionable bar rooms. As a man pays his taxes and war taxes for whiskey he tells his neighbor that he is on the way to the poor-house. With all the will in the world to adapt themselves to real economy, to real sacrifice, the New Yorkers cannot do so with the same sober spirit of self denial characteristic of some of our western cities—and of Boston and Philadelphia.

Regretfully this smart city of luxury and extravagance renounces former inclination. It is no fault of the press which has persistently stripped her of wasteful gaiety, has even scolded her tendency to be gay.

There are signs that New York is changing, only she is an aristocrat and slow to betray her elemental instincts. The New Yorker is always slow in his resentment, difficult to arouse from the lethargy of his set habits of city life, but once he has cause to fight, he is dangerous, because the man from New York gets what he goes after. He is quiet, even-tempered, smooth, amiable, poised, confident, shrewd, but above all, determined. He loses or he wins—

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with a smile. He is a born gambler, whether the stakes are gold, or woman, or life and death. In the West he is mistrusted because he is cold in business; in the South he is not yet wholly forgiven; in the East he is feared because he drives a shrewd bargain. But, on the battle field he has come into his own, his qualities of physical courage reached the point of heroism.

### Home

WHAT if it is not the same as it used to be? What if there are vacant chairs in the family circle? What if the boy has become a man, the brother a soldier, the sweetheart a sailor, the husband and father overseas? The home still stands intact, loyal, united. In the reverie of never-to-be-forgotten ties, there are no regrets. Remembrances are tender because no other thoughts are akin with the world's war have not consumed the home, they have strengthened the bands, the foundations, the laws of love, upon which the great faith in the ideals of the war, the cleansing fires of home stands. With the arrival of Victory he is coming home himself.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE FORUM

## INDEX TO VOLUME LX

### July 1918—Dec. 1918


A Japanese Print, by Ruth Mason Rice, 726.
Aeroplanes, Must Have, To Win Quickly, by Frederic Villiers, 453.
Aircraft Department Needed, An, by Hon. Harry S. New, 398.
Aircraft Needs, What Our, by Edwin Wildman, 270.
Aircraft "Nurses," Our Skilled, by Major-General William L. Kenly, 560.
Aircraft Preparations, Our, by Edwin Wildman, 141.
Airplane Plant, The Greatest Assembling, by Hamilton M. Wright, 280.
Americanizing Our Foreign-Born, by Royal Dixon, 444.
And the Dawn Came, by Leonie Davis Collister, 656.
Atlanta Now, How's, by Dudley Glass, 603.

Bolshevism, The Red Flag of, by Hon. James A. Reed, 745.
Bowman, John—Food Conservationist de Luxe, by John Bruce Mitchell, 216.

Chicago Now? How's, by Ben Hecht, 181.
Contracts, The Evils of Cost-Plus, by Perley Morse, C. P. A., 200.

Democratic Campaign of 1918, by Homer S. Cummings, 289.
Dollar Must Be Stabilized, The, by Irving Fisher, 613.
Doughboys' Own Story, Our, by Hamilton M. Wright, 407.
Doughboys' Way, The, by Doughboy, 687.
Doughgirl on the Firing Line, A, by Adjutant Helen Purviance, 648.

Editor's Un-Easy Chair, The, 372, 504, 632.
England, In, by Harold Cook, 166.
Epictetus, Jr., Observations of, by Lewis Allen, 235, 371, 415.

Financial Situation, by W. S. Cousins, 248, 366, 496, 626.
Foreign-Born, Americanizing Our, by Royal Dixon, 444.
Foreign Policy and Peace Problems, Our, by Roland G. Usher, 677.
From My Dugout—To You, by Ralph M. Thomson, 542.

God, In This War, by Rev. William W. Davis, 468.

History, Our Mythological, by Professor Franklin H. Giddings, 333.
Human Discards Restored, by Mary Ross, 458.
Huns' Bombing Planes, Under The, by Mary Helen Fee, 530.

"Impropaganda," by Lewis Allen Browne, 224.
In My Soul's House, by Leonie Davis Collister, 457.
In Nancy, by Eleanor Preston Watkins, 489.
Internationalism, Our New, by Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock, 137.
Ireland's Hold-Back, by Alfred S. Moore, 191.
Italy's International Patriotism, by Count V. Macchi di Cellere, 189.

Knights of Columbus Over There, by James A. Flaherty, 473.

Labor Behind the Government, Is, by Dr. Charles A. Eaton, 294.
Labor Regulations, by Hon. William B. Wilson, 267.
Labor, The Presidential Doctrine of, by Frank P. Walsh, 167.
Last Heart-Beat, To the, by Stephane Lauzanne, 310.
Lest Knowing All, by Leonie Davis Collister, 562.

Meat, Our Daily, by Edwin Wildman, 581.
Military Machine Necessary, Is A Permanent, by Hon. George Earl Chamberlain, 385.
Mothering the Boy at the Front, by Evangeline Booth, 303.
Music, Has the War Stifled, by Enrico Caruso, 313.
My Heritage, by Leonie Davis Collister, 180.

New Books, by Charles Francis Reed, 254, 484.
North Dakota, Speeding-Up, by Lyman J. Frazier, 430.

Ohio's War Work, by Hon. James M. Cox, 155.
Operatic Opportunity, Our, by Geraldine Farrar, 524.




PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Paris, The Confident, by Hamilton M. Wright, 208.
Peace Problems, Our Foreign Policy and, by Roland G. Usher, 677.
Pershing—Over There, by "Private" Alden, 711.
Planes Are There, Our, by Lewis Allen Browne, 563.
"Pleasure Car" Misnomer, The, by John Bruce Mitchell, 340.
Politics, Card-Indexing Your, by Aaron Hardy Ulm, 416.
Presidential Doctrine of Labor, The, by Frank P. Walsh, 167.
Press, Use and Misuse of the, by Viscount Northcliffe, 395.

Reconstruction Mean, What Does, by Hon. J. Hamilton Lewis, 721.
Reconstruction Program, Why No, by Richard Barry, 700.
Republican Congress, The Aims of the, by Hon. Lawrence Y. Sherman, 738.
Republican Position, The, by Will H. Hays, 129.

San Francisco to France, by Eleanor Preston Watkins, 312.
Service Flag, Behind The, by Mrs. Thomas R. Marshall, 438.
Ships, the Vision of the, by Stephen Marshall, 352.
Since He Has Gone, Poem, by Leonie Davis Collister, 266.
Soldier, Rebuilding the Injured, by Hon. Hoke Smith, 572.
"Solid West," Out for A, by A. B. Gilbert, 727.
Speak Freely, Your Right To, by Hon. Miles Poindexter, 670.
Spiritism, War-Time, by Professor James H. Hyslop, Ph.D., LL.D., 551.

Taxes Should I Pay, What, by Perley Morse, C.P.A., 543.
Taxes, Who Will Pay the New, by Hon. Claude Kitchin, 149.
The Choice, by J. Corson Miller, 710.
The Sentinels, by Margaret E. Sangster, 647.
Theatre in Review, by C. Courtenay Savage, 241, 361, 490, 620, 752.
They Shall Pay, by Martha B. Thomas, 669.
To "Her" at Home, by Private Francis L. Frost, A.E.F., France, 592.
Treaty-Making, Perils of Secret, by Hon. William E. Borah, 657.
"Types, My," Mary Roberts Rinehart, by Pendennis, 175.

Usury and the Banks, by Hon. John Skelton Williams, 513.

Wages and the Cost of Living, by Lewis Allen Browne, 319.
War Work, Who's She In, by Anne Emerson, 236, 478.
West, Out for A "Solid," by A. B. Gilbert, 727.
Wheat Farmers' Dilemma, The, by Hon. Thomas P. Gore, 257.
When You Come Back, by Ralph M. Thomson, 452.
Wilson, President, As a World Leader, by Hon. Lee Slater Overman, 641.
World Security Possible, Is, by Cardinal Gibbons, Seton B. Parker, Hon. Oscar Straus, Robert McNutt McElroy, Ph.D.; John Spargo, William English Walling, Judge Charles Burke Elliott, Dr. Richard Heath Dabney, Senator John Sharp Williams, 424.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED